

# **LOCKWOOD AND MAWSON**

## **OF BRADFORD AND LONDON**

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November 1998

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the carrying out of this research, I have been grateful for the help of a number of people without whose assistance the task of tracking down information and setting it within its context would have been so much harder. Firstly John Ayers, the author of the only book on the architecture of Bradford, deserves special mention for his advice, unfailing enthusiasm and the loan of photographs, the subjects of which have long since disappeared. Once again I am grateful to Steve Bateman at the City of Bradford Metropolitan Council for his help and access to the 'List' of Listed Buildings. I very much valued the conversations with Derek Linstrum and his advice; if only more documentation survived I am sure the relationship between Cuthbert Brodrick and Henry Lockwood would have proved to be one of the most interesting of the mid-Victorian era. In East Yorkshire, David Neave's additional help, over and above that contained in his exemplary revision of 'Pevsner', set the context for Lockwood's early life. Thanks also to the Corporation of the Hull Trinity House for access to the chapel, and to Dr David Connell at Burton Constable for the copies of Lockwood's drawings of the conservatory. I am also very grateful to Kathryn Morrison at the RCHME in Cambridge for access to her unpublished work on workhouses. Thanks also to the staff of archives and libraries throughout the north and in London, and at the RCHM in Swindon and architecture and history libraries at Hull, York and Cambridge Universities.

I am grateful for the support of my employers, Cambridge City Council, who have sponsored me and allowed me time off to disappear back up north. Special thanks to my colleague Jonathan Hurst and to Alan Bilton for their proof-reading skills, and of course to Judith Roberts and Peter Swallow at De Montfort University for their guidance.

My greatest debt of thanks is to Christine Leveson however, who has selflessly stood by me, trailed around endless libraries and buildings, photocopied and proof-read to distraction yet never complained nor lost her sense of humour. Thanks to you all.



## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis will explore the work of the architectural practice known, for most of its life, as Lockwood and Mawson. In its heyday, the firm was one of the most successful architectural practices of the Victorian era with an extraordinarily high success-rate in design competitions and a number of major commissions which rank among the most important of the Victorian age. Yet their work has been largely ignored, due, it must be assumed, to the fact that the majority of their work was undertaken in what are today unfashionable provincial towns and cities.

This work will therefore attempt to demonstrate that Lockwood and Mawson were more than jobbing architects who worked in an unimportant Victorian town. This will be achieved by looking briefly at the importance of Bradford, one of Britain's most quintessentially Victorian places which became a city in 1897. The types of buildings which the architects designed will be examined and their importance in shaping the character of the city, the region and the nation considered. This will include a section on building planning to demonstrate how the ergonomic skills of Lockwood and Mawson were such an important aspect of their success.

The architects' success in design competitions will then be explored to establish that their importance was not confined to Bradford or West Yorkshire. Certain design competitions will be considered more thoroughly to establish why Lockwood and Mawson were so successful. This aspect of the work will include consideration of the architects' patrons as their influence is fundamental to an understanding of the mechanisms of the competitions and how they could be influenced. The work will therefore provide a unique insight into the workings and intrigues behind architectural competitions in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The stylistic development of the work of the architects will be traced from Lockwood's solo career through to the successor firms of W. & R. Mawson and Mawson and Hudson. This will consider the architects' work against the background trends in the development of architecture in Britain from the 1830s until the end of the century.

Finally the practice itself will be considered as a case study of how a large, predominantly provincial practice fared during the booms and slumps of the Victorian age, and the contrasting fortunes of Lockwood and Mawson and Mawson and Hudson as the growing municipalisation of Victorian conurbations became a key theme of the century's end.

The overriding aim of this work is therefore to establish that Lockwood and Mawson were important architects of the Victorian age, and to demonstrate that amongst their hugely prolific output were a number of buildings which rank amongst the finest of the nineteenth century.

In contrast to practices such as those of George Gilbert Scott or Alfred Waterhouse few letters and original drawings produced by the practice survive. This work has therefore relied largely on existing buildings and reports in contemporary journals as source material on which to base this analysis.

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# INTRODUCTION

## NATIONAL AND REGIONAL TRENDS IN THE VICTORIAN ERA

The Victorian era was one of huge expansion and growth. Whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century only 20% of the population lived in towns of more than 10,000 people, by the end of Victoria's reign 75% (or thirty-six million people) were in urban areas.<sup>(1)</sup> During this time, London had become the largest city in the world. The consequences of this huge social change were far-reaching. Rapid in-migration to the towns and high birth and death rates meant that they became congested and filthy. Poor housing, insanitary conditions, pollution from the factories and a decline in moral standards were all seen as consequences of urbanisation. Yet the growing towns offered a chance for personal success which had been unthinkable in rural areas, and as the century advanced the facilities they provided, spurred on by technological advances, meant that the general standard of living undoubtedly rose. Of course this was a trend, and there were occasional trade slumps and crises which had dire consequences. These led to protests and riots with the 'physical force' Chartists being the group which particularly concerned the middle-classes of the 1840s. However 'the worst phase of sweating and physical hardship was over before 1850.'<sup>(2)</sup>

The Victorian era was also one of great reforms and solutions to problems, often prompted by major epidemics or upheavals. Attempts to cope with the problems of the poor led to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 which created a new central authority and saw the establishment of new Poor Law Unions which greatly improved the administration of relief. This was just one element of the growing municipalisation of the Victorian era which gave powers to local government to tackle a range of issues including improvements to drainage and water supply. The 'incorporation' of towns gave greater powers over the paving and cleaning of streets and the creation of bye laws to control poor housing. Income from central government increased as the old *laissez faire* system of the early nineteenth century was abandoned.

Probably more important than the physical measures to cope with the problems of towns was the growing social conscience. The work of Edwin Chadwick, looking at the condition of towns, helped bring the plight of the poorest into the homes of the richest in society. Even before the middle of the century, it was clear that the strengthening wave of 'Liberal Socialism'<sup>(3)</sup> included considerable sympathy with the plight of the working man. Once the threat of violence had subsided by the late 1840s, this manifested itself in real attempts by Liberals and Radicals to bring about changes in society. Improvements in housing were promoted by groups such as the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes, and their aims were given greater credence when the Prince Consort became President and designs for model houses were displayed at the Great Exhibition in 1851.<sup>(4)</sup> Men such as Richard Oastler campaigned to reduce the hours which children worked, and W.E. Forster sought to improve the standard of education.

This concern also led to an 'Evangelical Conscience' which believed in teaching by setting a good example. This had a major influence on the Anglican Church and ultimately a split formed between the 'low church' Evangelicals (many of whom became Dissenters) and the 'high church' movement (some of whom turned to Roman Catholicism). The major pressure groups of the 'high church', the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, became extremely important in dictating the architectural taste of the country.

In the developing northern towns the Anglican Church was, however, slow to adapt and their clergy found it difficult to cover the huge parishes which developed.<sup>(5)</sup> Their plight was further hampered by the fact that new Anglican churches required an Act of Parliament before they could be built. The Nonconformists in contrast, partly because of the nature of their religious service, could survive in converted buildings and were adept at raising money for new buildings.<sup>(6)</sup> However, even in rural areas, the Anglican church was perceived as inextricably linked to the ruling elite:

'The parson who dined and hunted with the squire, who owned land in the parish that had been enclosed from the commons, who handed down harsh sentences for poaching from the bench, and who preached the immutability of the status quo from the pulpit every Sunday was unlikely to win either the hearts or the minds of



labouring people.’<sup>(7)</sup>

In contrast, the more evangelical Nonconformist Churches whose ‘overriding concern for personal salvation stressed the equality of all sinners and the irrelevance of rank’<sup>(8)</sup> through their mutual support for members offered a much more palatable alternative to those disenchanted with the elitism, subjugation and impersonality of the Anglican church. Whilst the influence of the Camdenians, and even of the Anglican church generally, would not be so great as in the university cities, their trends were in many ways paralleled by the Nonconformist Churches who sought to develop their role in society.

Church attendances were, however, poor during much of the Victorian era despite the campaigns of church building by Anglicans, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics particularly after the numbers of Irish immigrants increased rapidly in the growing towns. Despite the importance of the Anglican Church nationally, in the manufacturing towns of the north, the Nonconformist religions accounted for more than 50% of church attendances in the 1851 religious census.<sup>(9)</sup> More importantly, their congregations often included the *nouveau riche* manufacturers who were the major players in the civic life of the city.

In the pre-industrial period, most areas of England were involved in textile production though the scale and diversity of the industry in Yorkshire was unsurpassed. After 1770, the industry in West Yorkshire became even larger and more diverse as it developed as the country’s principal woollen manufacturing area, with the different branches of the industry concentrating in different, though often overlapping, zones. Leeds was important as a woollen manufacturing centre and for finishing, whilst Dewsbury and Batley specialised in ‘heavy woollen’ cloths for blankets. Bradford developed as a worsted manufacturing area, and whilst in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Halifax was the principal marketing centre, by the middle of the century Bradford took over the role.<sup>(10)</sup>

A major consequence of having so many large towns developing in such a small geographical area was the civic pride which was engendered. This was particularly the case between Leeds and Bradford which ‘gained in intensity not only from the differences between the



geographical, economic and religious bases of the two communities but from their competition to do the same sort of thing'.<sup>(11)</sup> Consequently, when Bradford opened the St George's Hall in 1853, the mayor, Samuel Smith, boasted that it was larger than Birmingham's. At almost the same time as the competition for the St George's Hall in Bradford was decided, Leeds began to investigate how it might finance a new town hall. This set the pattern for the remainder of the nineteenth century, with envious eyes often cast beyond Yorkshire when new buildings were erected.

## **VICTORIAN BRADFORD**

Mid-nineteenth century Bradford was amongst the fastest growing and consequently unhealthiest towns of the nineteenth century. Its population grew remarkably from 13,264 in 1801 to 103,778 in 1851, to over 183,000 in 1881 and to 290,000 by 1911.<sup>(12)</sup> Much of the increase was due to immigration, particularly from Ireland, and even though there were several building booms, the supply of housing fell far short of demand. The town was insanitary, overcrowded and had the attendant problems of vice, crime and drunkenness. By the 1840s, life expectancy in the town was less than twenty years and 102 children per thousand died before the age of four.<sup>(13)</sup> The condition of the town was summed up by a young German poet, George Weerth, who wrote about the town for a newspaper in the 1840s:

'Every other factory town in England is a paradise in comparison to this hole...In Bradford you think you have lodged with the devil incarnate. If anyone wants to feel how a poor sinner is tormented in Purgatory, let him travel to Bradford.'<sup>(14)</sup>

Bradford's economic growth was correspondingly phenomenal. The growth of the woollen industry led to demand for a range of buildings connected with the trade and the industries which served it. This included major public buildings such as banks, hotels and clubs, whilst the increasingly affluent society demanded shops and markets. Whereas there had been no steam-powered mills in the town before 1800, by 1851 there were 129.<sup>(15)</sup> By 1850, 35,000 of the nation's 79,000 worsted operatives were in Bradford (with another 35,000 elsewhere in Yorkshire). In 1822, Bradford had only five worsted merchants compared to twenty-four in Leeds, but by 1861, whilst Leeds had only seventeen, Bradford had 157.<sup>(16)</sup> This growth was virtually continuous throughout the first seventy-five years of the century. However, whilst

there had been the occasional minor blip in the growth of Bradford's trade before 1874, in the last quarter of the century this became a major threat. The most marked problem was a shift in taste to all-wool worsted cloth. Bradford merchants refused to accept this change in fashion and continued to produce goods which the public did not want. Bradford consequently lost not only its overseas markets, but even its domestic trade. In 1874, just over £1m of woollen stuff was imported into the country; by 1880 this had increased to £4m. In comparison, Bradford's exports of worsted cloth which exceeded 47 million yards from 1863-7 slumped to just 19.5 million from 1873-8.<sup>(17)</sup> The buoyancy and optimism of the first three quarters of the century was suddenly over, with far-reaching effects on a town which relied so heavily on the worsted industry.

The appalling condition of the booming town was due to a number of factors including overcrowding, poor and 'jerry-built' housing, the overflowing parish churchyard polluting the watercourses and, of course, the pollution from the factories. The mill-owners were seen by some as being the cause of many of the town's problems and were christened 'Messrs. Get-all, Keep-all and Work-all' by Oastler.<sup>(18)</sup>

Despite this slur these men, who were usually Liberal Nonconformists, counted amongst their number Titus Salt, Samuel Smith and W.E. Forster who were at the forefront of attempts to improve the quality of life in the town. As the Liberal newspaper the *Bradford Observer* commented:

'...we flatter ourselves that the dawning of better things is perceivable. First, social unity. All classes meet together; all classes subscribe together. Together they will greet in the park; together they will sit in the public concert or town's gathering. Party feeling will be undermined, and a fresh, wholesome, growing, vigorous confidence will be gradually established in the various grades of social and political life.'<sup>(19)</sup>

Many of the leading Liberals had a genuine concern for the working man which they were not afraid to voice in the aftermath of Chartism. Titus Salt launched an inquiry into the 'Moral Condition of Bradford' whilst Mayor in 1849. This highlighted the problems of intemperance, promiscuity, ignorance and lack of religious observance, and hinted that these were not confined to society's lower orders.<sup>(20)</sup> Salt also campaigned to incorporate anti-



pollution measures into the factories, a feature which he included in his mill at Saltaire. Samuel Smith was the leading force behind the building of the St George's Hall which was to give a real alternative to the public houses of the town. He also campaigned for improvements to the water supply and, whilst Mayor, the Improvement Act in 1847 which paved the way for the first building regulations in the town. Briggs considers that 'Smith deserves to be remembered along with greater nineteenth-century civic reformers like Joseph Chamberlain.'<sup>(21)</sup> Forster's contribution was in the field of educational reform. He was responsible for the 1870 Education Act which introduced a system of elementary education from the rates of which Bradford was one of the country's first providers. The Liberals held the ascendancy in Bradford's political life well into the 1870s and the power and influence of the major 'city fathers' was substantial.

Bradford was dominated by the Nonconformist Religions as far back as 1800 when only one of the six places of worship in the town was Anglican.<sup>(22)</sup> In the Census of Religious Worship of 1851, 68% of attendances were at Nonconformist chapels, the third highest of any town in England.<sup>(23)</sup> Initially the Nonconformists, and Methodists in particular, worked in co-operation with the Church of England until the 1820s and 1830s, when the Dissenters began to establish new churches leaving behind the Anglican Church which 'moved massively and ponderously, a dinosaur amongst smaller, livelier mammals.'<sup>(24)</sup> The congregations of the Nonconformist churches included the new entrepreneurial middle classes who 'aspired to gain the social and political prestige they felt commensurate with their economic wealth'<sup>(25)</sup> The pews of the Anglican churches tended to be occupied by the Tories who were often old established industrialists who were often against the wholesale industrialisation they saw before them. The number of worshippers was therefore less important than who they were. In Bradford, the Horton Lane Congregational Church was by far the most important church because it was the place of worship of the most important figures in the city whose 'influence largely moulded the form of the community'.<sup>(26)</sup>

The geographical development of Bradford warrants a brief mention. From the mid-eighteenth century, the wealthy had acquired small country estates on the edge of the town. Typical of such estates was that acquired by Edmund Peckover off Leeds Road, which would

be developed from the 1840s as sites on the steep slopes surrounding the valley bottom were built on. As the congested centre of the town became increasingly squalid, the upper classes in the 1830s moved out along streets such as Manningham Lane which were a short carriage-ride from their employment and away from the prevailing wind. Within twenty years however, such areas became the province of the middle classes, and the wealthier sought locations further away particularly as the Borough itself expanded in the 1880s. Apperley Bridge and Rawdon, in the attractive countryside between Leeds and Bradford, became particularly popular, whilst many Bradford businessmen moved further along Manningham Lane to the Bingley area. The rapid growth of central Bradford on increasingly awkward and steep sites together with the development of edge of town and greenfield sites led to considerable opportunities for the builders and architects of the Victorian era.

## **ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICES IN VICTORIAN BRADFORD**

The boom in demand for buildings of all kinds in the third quarter of the nineteenth century meant that the proportion of Bradford's male working population connected with the building trade had risen from 9% (or 2386) in 1851 to 15% in 1871 when 5561 men were employed in the construction trades.<sup>(27)</sup> This pattern was reflected in the numbers of architects. Two years after Lockwood and Mawson had begun their practice in Bradford in 1853, there were only twelve other architectural firms in Bradford and around 50 in the whole of West Yorkshire.<sup>(28)</sup> By comparison, in 1891, Mawson and Hudson were competing against another 56 architects in Bradford alone with 239 firms operating within West Yorkshire.<sup>(29)</sup>

Although the number of architects working in and around Bradford steadily rose, different practices tended to specialise in different types of building. Eli Milnes (1830-99), together with his partner (after 1863) Charles France (1833-1902), tended to specialise in the design of warehouses and other industrial buildings. James Mallinson and Thomas (I) Healey (fl.1847-67), who were succeeded by Healey's sons Thomas H. (II) and Francis (1835-1910), built virtually exclusively for the Anglican church throughout West Yorkshire. Some practices such as William Andrews (1804-70) with his partners Frederick Delaunay (fl.1832-60) and then his son Thomas Garlick Andrews (1838-81) and Joseph Pepper (fl.1860-80),



were happy to design buildings of all types though they tended towards houses, commercial and industrial buildings.

The trade slump in the last quarter of the nineteenth century restricted the number of possible commissions for Bradford's architects; a matter made worse by the increasing numbers of their profession. The problem was exacerbated in 1902 when the Corporation appointed a City Architect. Five years after F.E.P. Edwards had taken up the post, the City was able to report that a considerable saving had been made by entrusting work to his offices rather than employing private architects.<sup>(30)</sup>

The Chairman of the Bradford Society of Architects, T.C. Hope, drew a parallel between the appointment of a Corporation Architect to design the City's municipal buildings and the displaying of works on the undecorated walls of the newly erected Cartwright Hall Art Gallery. 'Was there any man in the town hall' he asked 'who would dare to suggest that we should create a picture department, and engage a municipalised painter who, with his assistants, should cover these bare walls with paintings?'<sup>(31)</sup> The situation was arguably worse in Leeds. George Corson, the President of the Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society complained that design work originally carried out by the architectural fraternity 'had drifted into the hands of the City Engineer, who was certainly not an architect'.<sup>(32)</sup>

The years when the practice of Lockwood and Mawson was at its peak corresponded almost exactly with the era of most significant expansion in Bradford and most other northern towns. They also corresponded almost precisely with the years in which the Liberal Nonconformists held the balance of power in the town. Despite its ills and undoubted social problems, the Victorian era brought unprecedented opportunities to a larger group of people than ever before and the city fathers ensured that Bradford was at the forefront of many of the positive things to emerge from the ills of the Victorian age. Lockwood and Mawson were handily placed to take full advantage of the chances which came their way.

## **THE SCOPE OF THIS WORK**

Lockwood and Mawson were one of the most successful firms of English provincial architects in the Victorian era. They were instrumental in the development of Bradford, a town which became a city during Victoria's reign and developed from little more than a village into the world centre of the worsted trade in less than a century. They were also hugely successful entrants in the many architectural competitions which characterised the Victorian age. This work will therefore, examine not just the buildings which Lockwood and Mawson produced, but will look also at how their success was achieved. It will be necessary to look not just at the work of the practice known usually as 'Lockwood and Mawson', but to consider also the solo career of Henry Lockwood, the work undertaken by Lockwood in London, and the work of the Mawson Brothers and subsequently Mawson and Hudson after the death of Henry Lockwood to gain a full understanding of the practice and its context.

Lockwood and Mawson were prodigious architects who produced a vast range of extensive and high quality buildings which the growing towns of the Victorian era demanded. They also designed and oversaw the construction of Saltaire, the model village on the outskirts of Bradford, a commission which lasted for more than a quarter of the century and was undoubtedly one of the largest projects undertaken by a firm of architects in the nineteenth century. This work cannot, therefore, analyse in depth the architecture of each building. Instead key themes will be investigated with reference to specific buildings or projects where pertinent.

The main body of the text is supported by two additional parts which in turn illustrate the major works and list chronologically the buildings produced. Reference to the building in the chronological gazetteer is given by a cardinal number, and to the illustrations by a Roman numeral. Both will appear in brackets and bold type after a significant reference to the building in the text.



# CHAPTER 1: LOCKWOOD'S EARLY WORK IN EAST YORKSHIRE

## BACKGROUND AND EDUCATION

Henry Francis Lockwood was born in Doncaster in 1811. His father was a man of considerable substance in the town where he was the principal of a successful building firm and held the office of Alderman. The family also played an active part in the Nonconformist community of the town, being members of the Congregational church.<sup>(1)</sup> Lockwood's background was not unusual. As Sir John Summerson notes in his essay 'The London Building World of the 1860s' 'The architectural profession in the '60s was a gentleman's profession...but recruitment in the '30s, '40s and '50s had a decidedly 'lower middle' tone...many practitioners had architectural, surveying or building backgrounds...'<sup>(2)</sup>

Lockwood's father was clearly not just a jobbing builder however but a man of considerable influence in his home town. Grady notes in his article 'The Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding':

'Hatfield, the nineteenth century historian of Doncaster when discussing the contract for the gaol of the Borough and Soke of Doncaster in 1829 wrote "Mr Lockwood's tender received preference, for his influence with the corporation was paramount and the power of his family might defy competition from whatever quarter it emanated."' <sup>(3)</sup>

This ability to influence those around him appears to have been inherited by Henry Lockwood as support and patronage by key political and religious figures would be a feature of his future career.

At the age of nineteen, Henry Lockwood joined the architectural practice of Peter Frederick Robinson (1776-1858) with whom he served his articles for the next four years.<sup>(4)</sup> Lockwood was therefore relatively old to begin his architectural training; Cuthbert Brodrick (1821-1905), for example, was only fourteen when articulated to Lockwood in 1837. It is likely that Lockwood worked for a time with his father though, as was relatively common at the time, he may have toured the Continent before commencing his formal training.

Certainly Lockwood must have shown considerable promise as a potential student, or his father used his particular influence, as P.F. Robinson was a prolific and well respected London architect. The practice specialised in country houses and picturesque 'estate' cottages, though Robinson could also design in an accomplished Classical style. His best-known building was probably the 'Egyptian Hall' on London's Piccadilly which was designed from 1811 to 1812. Robinson apparently won this commission because of his reputation as a 'connoisseur of styles'<sup>(5)</sup> though the resulting building was a piece of architectural confection which, despite the claims of the architect, bore little resemblance to the Temple at Denderah.

- When Henry Lockwood joined the practice in 1830, Robinson was busy on a series of country house commissions. The Swiss Cottage in London was under construction (from 1829-32), and after altering a castle in Sweden in the 'Anglo-Norman' style, work commenced in 1831 on extensive alterations to Singleton House near Swansea.<sup>(6)</sup> The latter works were in the Tudor Gothic style which was becoming highly fashionable in the 1830s, particularly after the publication of T.F. Hunt's 'Tudor Architecture' in 1830.<sup>(7)</sup> Robinson himself was to publish a volume on the subject entitled 'Domestic Architecture in the Tudor Style' seven years later though his pattern-books of the 1820s had included Tudor Gothic designs well before the studies of men such as C.J. Richardson (1800-72) and Henry Shaw (1801-73).<sup>(8)</sup> Robinson was in fact a prolific author. He worked on updating 'Vitruvius Britannicus', and produced pattern-books such as 'Rural Architecture: a Series of Designs for Ornamental Cottages' in 1823, 'Designs for Ornamental Villas' from 1825-7 and 'Designs for Village Architecture, being a series of Designs illustrating the Observations contained in the Essay on the Picturesque by Sir Uvedale Price' in 1830.<sup>(9)</sup> Such books, as was the practice, illustrated previous commissions as well as influencing future clients. Robinson was truly one of the 'principal purveyors of Tudor parsonage models in the 1820s.'<sup>(10)</sup>

Robinson was an extremely versatile architect who was willing to design buildings in a variety of styles to suit the taste of his patrons. These included Gothic styles encompassing the 'Old English', 'Edwardian', 'Tudor' and 'Elizabethan', together with half-timbered buildings of English or Swiss origin. He even built a Norman-style villa in Hampshire



inspired by features from Christchurch Priory and Barfreston Church.<sup>(11)</sup>

Robinson, though, was keeping pace with, rather than dictating, the current architectural fashions. The fashion for Gothic in the early-nineteenth century was the province of 'thinking people who wished to associate themselves with the past, with scholarship, as with the unusual, the erotic and the remote.'<sup>(12)</sup> The availability of books such as those produced by Robinson, but more especially 'An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation' by the Liverpool architect Thomas Rickman (1776-1841) which was published in 1817, enabled Gothic styles to be appreciated by the middle classes, not just the very rich. Robinson's book on Sir Uvedale Price and the Picturesque places him firmly within the branch of the Gothic Revival concerned with aesthetics, and therefore founded in the eighteenth century ideals of taste. The divergent branch were those Gothic Revivalists who sought complete accuracy in their work. Despite Robinson's 'Norman' work in Hampshire which copied authentic eleventh century features from existing buildings, he was not among those Gothic Revival artists who promoted authentic and scholarly interpretation of original features; Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) being perhaps the best-known architect of this genre. The 'authentic' Gothicists would ultimately conclude that there should be 'no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety.'<sup>(13)</sup> This was in marked contrast to those like Robinson who saw Gothicism in terms of eighteenth century ideals of the Picturesque and whose buildings were deliberately asymmetrical to give picturesque effect regardless of the plan form, or had Gothic ornament applied to an otherwise symmetrical and Classically proportioned building. The Tudor Gothic style which characterised many of Robinson's early works was throughout the late Georgian and early Victorian periods, hardly considered Gothic though certainly not Classical even when Renaissance features were incorporated. Rather, even by Pugin who condemned the use of later Gothic for church designs due to its chronological proximity to the Reformation, it was a 'national' style highly suitable for regularly-planned domestic buildings.<sup>(14)</sup>

In addition to his country house work and publications, Robinson had been commissioned to rebuild the Castle Gaol in York in 1826 (1), together with the extension and restoration of

other parts of the castle.<sup>(15)</sup> Much of this work was carried out in partnership with George Townsend Andrews (1804-55), a Classical architect most famous for his railway buildings, and the partnership built an office at 31 Castlegate adjacent to the Castle.<sup>(16)</sup> Lockwood took charge of the supervision of the works to the castle. This clearly stimulated his interest in the antiquities of the city, and in 1834 he published 'The History and Antiquities of the Fortifications to the City of York' together with Adolphus H. Cates. This work (a sequel to Henry Cave's 'Antiquities of York' published in 1813) gives a detailed account of the City's Roman legacy. The preface expresses Lockwood's intention to extend his research to all ancient military architecture in Britain, though there is no evidence that this project ever extended beyond York.<sup>(17)</sup>

Lockwood's four years in Robinson's practice had therefore given him the opportunity to explore in depth ancient architecture, whilst exposing him to the changing architectural fashions of the day through the practice's commissions in York and country house work elsewhere in the country. It is likely that Lockwood was involved in or at least knew of projects other than York Castle whilst with Robinson and Andrews and these may have included the remodelling of Warter Priory between York and Beverley in around 1830,<sup>(18)</sup> and the York City and County Bank and De Grey House, both in York. Although both the latter buildings were built after Lockwood left the practice in 1835,<sup>(19)</sup> he may have been involved in the drawing work as the simple but well proportioned Classical detailing is reminiscent particularly of Lockwood's Hull Institute (30, xxv) built in 1846.

## **LOCKWOOD'S PRACTICE IN HULL**

On leaving Robinson's pupillage at some time in 1834, Lockwood moved to Hull to commence his own practice. It is unlikely that his former tutors would have encouraged him to set up a rival partnership in York, and Hull in the 1830s was the most prosperous town in East Yorkshire and England's third largest port. Such a town would potentially provide plenty of opportunities for an ambitious young architect.

Hull's chief importance was as a port, and particularly one serving the growing areas of West

Yorkshire and beyond into Lancashire. A new dock had been built in 1809 and development in the west of the town had followed on land reclaimed from the Humber. A third dock between the two existing docks followed in 1829 and this provided a further impetus to the town's development. The population of the town subsequently rose from around 33,000 in 1831,<sup>(20)</sup> to over 133,000 by 1874.<sup>(21)</sup> The developing town would therefore require new buildings as whole new areas of Hull were developed and the needs of an immigrant, densely packed population became apparent.

Hull was also firmly established as a seat of religious dissent, and by 1834 only eight of the 33 places of worship in the town were Church of England.<sup>(22)</sup> As the town grew, this would lead to a flurry of church and chapel building as the different religions sought to establish a base in the new residential areas. In Hull, the Wesleyan Methodists were the dominant Nonconformist church, but Lockwood's Congregationalists were well represented and were the town's third largest religious body in terms of both numbers of churches and attendances.<sup>(23)</sup>

Hull was also a town whose buildings were predominantly in the Neoclassical style. These were mostly designed by local architects but by the 1830s the most important of these, Charles Mountain Junior (1773-1839), departed for the market town of Malton.<sup>(24)</sup> Whether by design or chance, Lockwood therefore took the place of Hull's leading architect.

It is unclear where in Hull Lockwood established his office on arriving from York, but by the 1840s he occupied an office overlooking the Queen's Dock at 9 Dock Street<sup>(25)</sup> seemingly remaining there until he departed for Bradford with William Mawson in 1849. Henry Lockwood appears to have been less settled in his choice of residences however, apparently living on fashionable Spring Bank in April 1842 when he wrote to the Council's Property Committee about the condition of the road.<sup>(26)</sup> This letter is signed by Lockwood in the capacity of 'Honorary Secretary', though it is not clear whether he was secretary of some residents' association or the nearby Hull Zoological Gardens which Lockwood designed and was subsequently part of the management board. By 1844, Lockwood seems to have been living at 13 St John Wood Road<sup>(27)</sup> at which time he was designing buildings at Sewerby Hall



near Bridlington. This street was apparently in the north of the city off Beverley Road, <sup>(28)</sup> though by the following year he seems to have moved to another address in the same locality given in the Burgess Rolls as Lansdowne Road. <sup>(29)</sup> Both these addresses indicate that Lockwood must have been a quite wealthy man by the 1840s as these houses were right on the edge of Hull and therefore in the most fashionable areas to where the rich sought an escape from the turmoil and dirt of the town.

Initially Lockwood appears to have practised in Hull alone but in January 1837 he took on Cuthbert Brodrick a fourteen year old who was apprenticed to the practice for the next six years. <sup>(30)</sup> Brodrick was the son of a Hull ship owner and a gifted student who was awarded a Silver Medal for his measured drawings of the Percy Tomb at Beverley Minster in 1840. <sup>(31)</sup> Although Brodrick's apprenticeship was completed by January 1843, he continued to work with Lockwood until around August 1844. During this time they both appear to have studied buildings in and around Hull with a particular emphasis on Gothic churches. However, following advice from his father in the summer of 1844, Brodrick decided to tour Europe to see at first hand the Gothic buildings of Southern England, France, Germany and Italy. When he returned towards the end of the following year, Lockwood is alleged to have offered Brodrick a partnership, but the young architect refused <sup>(32)</sup> choosing to set up his own practice based at 1 Savile Street in Hull. <sup>(33)</sup>

Brodrick was a talented but headstrong architect with great faith in his own abilities. It is unclear whether he and Lockwood remained friends after Brodrick declined Lockwood's offer of a partnership but there were many similarities between his work and the later work of Lockwood and Mawson. Almost all Brodrick's buildings were Classical in inspiration with a decidedly French influence (particularly the Grand Hotel, Scarborough built from 1862-7) and were therefore directly comparable with the Classical buildings of Lockwood and Mawson. Two of Brodrick's best known buildings, the Leeds Town Hall of 1853-8 and the Corn Exchange in the same town in 1860-3, were won in competitions in which Lockwood and Mawson were placed second and third respectively, and he also defeated Lockwood in the earlier Hull Town Hall competition. Conversely, despite showing an initial interest, Brodrick decided against competing against Lockwood and Mawson in the Exchange

Competition in Bradford in 1864.

Despite his undoubted talent, Brodrick's career was relatively short-lived. By 1869, whilst Lockwood was enjoying considerable success, Brodrick had left for France, disillusioned with architecture, and he never returned to England, dying in Jersey in 1905.<sup>(34)</sup>

Whilst Brodrick was still serving his articles, Lockwood formed a brief partnership with Thomas Allom (1804-1872). Allom, a London man, was an exceptionally talented artist who presumably met Lockwood whilst illustrating some of P.F. Robinson's books in the early 1830s. Such was Allom's talent that he even produced drawings of the Houses of Parliament for Emperor Nicholas to present to the architect Sir Charles Barry.<sup>(35)</sup> His career however alternated between architect and artist and he often combined the two, working as a draughtsman. His most celebrated role as 'architectural renderer' came in his drawings for George Gilbert Scott's submission in the London Law Courts competition. Beautiful as the drawings were, public knowledge that the drawings were not by the architect did nothing for Scott's reputation.<sup>(36)</sup>

Allom appears to have been in partnership with Henry Kendall Junior in 1839 when he submitted a model of their Brompton Cemetery competition entry (which won second premium) to the Royal Academy.<sup>(37)</sup> If his partnership with Lockwood began in 1840, it was certainly over by the end of 1843 as Lockwood's name alone appears on the drawings for the Howden lock-up which were accompanied by a letter to the Clerk of the Peace dated 20 November 1843.<sup>(38)</sup> It appears, however, that they worked together on the designs for Great Thornton Street Wesleyan Chapel, the Albion Independent Congregational Church and the Holy Trinity Church in Hull, together with the Kirkdale Industrial Schools and designs for the Brownlow Hill Workhouse both in Liverpool.<sup>(39)</sup>

Allom left Hull and returned south where in 1844 he submitted to the Royal Academy designs for a cemetery chapel at Nunhead in South London and the Leicester Monument at Holkham in Norfolk. They received no professional comment whilst his designs for a church in



Torquay were felt by *The Builder* to be beautifully drawn but requiring ‘the chastening hand of good freemasonry.’<sup>(40)</sup> Whilst it is not clear why Lockwood and Allom ended their partnership, it is possible that Lockwood (being a talented artist and draughtsman himself) needed a more practical partner rather than a man with skills similar to his own.

Lockwood’s willingness to invite the young and relatively inexperienced Cuthbert Brodrick to become a partner, and brief partnership with Thomas Allom indicate the success of the practice and Lockwood’s desire for professional assistance. The departure of Allom quickly followed by Brodrick’s decision to make a ‘Grand Tour’ would have placed a considerable strain on Lockwood, and this may explain, in part, something of a lull in the output of buildings between 1846 and 1849.

## **LOCKWOOD’S COMMISSIONS**

Henry Lockwood’s first commissions were by necessity relatively close to Hull. The railway arrived in 1840 with the opening of the Hull - Selby Railway.<sup>(41)</sup> The railway would be an instrumental factor in the development of Victorian Hull as it connected the manufacturing centres, particularly of West Yorkshire, with the port. For a young businessman like Lockwood it meant access to commissions and competitions outside the East Riding, and Lockwood with his then partner Thomas Allom took advantage of the improved east - west communications across the country to win competitions for buildings in Liverpool.

The growing town of Hull though needed new buildings to cope with the social and religious needs of its population and such buildings were to provide the backbone of Lockwood’s solo career. These commissions were supplemented by similar commissions in nearby Beverley, country and private house commissions similar to those in which P.F. Robinson had specialised, and a group of commissions to design police houses or ‘lock-ups’ in the market towns of East Yorkshire.

Lockwood’s first solo commission was the remodelling of a modest roadside cottage across the Humber in Winterton (2,i) for Jonathan Dent.<sup>(42)</sup> Whilst this may have been a commission



gained whilst working for Robinson (perhaps it was too small to be of interest to a large established practice), it seems likely that Lockwood's involvement dates from 1834-5 and not earlier. It is possible that Robinson did favour his former pupil with commissions as there is a further link with one of Lockwood's later private house commissions at Burton Constable (18, xxix), a large Elizabethan mansion ten miles north-east of Hull. Here Lockwood added a conservatory to the boudoir of Lady Marianne Constable. She and her husband, Sir Clifford Constable, were passionate furniture collectors who had studied the furniture in the Royal Pavilion at Brighton.<sup>(43)</sup> Here they probably met Robinson who advised the Prince of Wales on Chinese furnishings for the building.<sup>(44)</sup>

In addition to the design of a rectory at Kirk Ella (6), then a small village to the west of Hull in 1839, Lockwood was to carry out three other private house commissions before he was to leave Hull for Bradford. In 1840, Lockwood rebuilt a house called Eastdale at Welton (11) also to the west of Hull for another wealthy private client, Robert Raikes Junior, the son of a Hull banker. Lockwood's involvement was not restricted to the house, and he appears to have remodelled the grounds and added an impressive range of outbuildings.<sup>(45)</sup>

Clearly large house owners provided lucrative commissions. Whilst Lockwood's commission at Eastdale was extensive, it lasted for a relatively short time. In contrast, his involvement at Sewerby Hall near Bridlington (9, xxii-xxiv, xxx, xxxi), a private house owned by Yarburgh Graeme esq., lasted for nine years between 1839 until 1848. In piece-meal fashion, and obviously the subject of considerable negotiation with his client, Lockwood added a whole range of buildings including gatehouses, clock towers, a large conservatory, parkland shelters and cottages, in addition to altering the early eighteenth century house itself.<sup>(46)</sup> As Hitchcock notes, 'the extreme prolongation of building campaigns - and the practical certainty that more and more of the old work would seem too shabby to preserve as the new work went up - made country house commissions dependable sources of income'.<sup>(47)</sup>

Three years before leaving Hull, and whilst still working at Sewerby Hall, Lockwood built a dignified, if austere, house for Dr. James Anderson<sup>(48)</sup> (30, xxv) next to, but unconnected with, the Albion Independent Congregational Church (17, xviii) which he had designed four

years earlier in 1842. Like many architects of the late Georgian and early Victorian periods (Cuthbert Brodrick included<sup>(49)</sup>) he also appears to have been prepared to take risks, becoming involved in the potentially more lucrative business of property speculation. Lockwood provided the drawings showing the 'allotment of property' on a 120 acre site at North Ferriby (27, ii) to be auctioned in October 1845.<sup>(50)</sup> The village had recently been joined to Hull by the railway and was marketed as 120 acres of first rate land 'for a number of villas and residences for families of the first respectability - protected from the cold north and east winds, and free from the damp atmosphere of Hull...'.<sup>(51)</sup> Neither the success of the venture, nor the extent of Lockwood's interest is known, though the area was not developed in accordance with Lockwood's plan.

Although undoubtedly lucrative (Lockwood's fees for the conservatory at Burton Constable were £40 out of a total cost of £169 7s 5d<sup>(52)</sup>), the commissions for alterations to country houses were probably little more than a pleasant distraction from the general workload of the architect. It was in Hull that Lockwood was to make a more major impact with his designs for public buildings.

In 1837, Lockwood was commissioned to design the new Kingston College on Hull's fashionable Beverley Road (3, iii) close to where the architect was to live. This was a large new structure complete with gate lodge (4, iv). In the following year however, he designed the much smaller Holderness Ward British School building (5, v) in the poorer Dansom Lane area of the town. Although his first public buildings were for education, Lockwood's reputation was probably founded on his design of ecclesiastical buildings.

Lockwood had already established a link with the Anglican Church through his designs of the Rectory at Kirk Ella. In the same year (1839), the Trinity House, an ancient foundation which had controlled navigation in the port but by the nineteenth century was increasingly concerned with the welfare of mariners and their families, commissioned him to build a new chapel (8, xi-xvii). The Trinity House was an important institution. The Surveyor General, Sir William Chambers, had designed the original chapel, but having become too small it was to be demolished and the House had agreed to give up part of the garden to enable a larger



structure to be provided.<sup>(53)</sup> Lockwood was apparently paid £40 for the plans<sup>(54)</sup> (the same fee he commanded for a simple conservatory at Burton Constable) though the chapel cost £3500 and took four years to complete.<sup>(55)</sup>

This commission appears to have laid the foundations for Lockwood's career in Hull, and within two years he had begun work on a huge new chapel for the Wesleyan Methodists on Great Thornton Street (15, xix). This 'temple' was clearly intended to show the importance of the Methodists in the City and it is testament to Lockwood's quickly established prestige that he should be commissioned to design the building. Apparently not to be outdone, the Independent Congregationalists commissioned the architect to produce another equally prestigious temple for them in 1842 (17, xviii). A year earlier, in 1841, the Anglicans appointed the young architect to carry out alterations and design a new pulpit for the principal Church of England edifice in Hull, the Holy Trinity Church (16, xxxvii). Lockwood was engaged in the work seemingly until 1846.<sup>(56)</sup> Interestingly, despite Lockwood's associations with the Congregationalists, once he had completed the work at the Albion Independent Congregational Church, all the architect's subsequent church work until he left Hull would be for the Anglicans.

Following the design of the chapel for Trinity House, Lockwood's next ecclesiastical design was in the nearby town of Beverley and involved the construction of a chapel of ease for Beverley Minster. This was known as St John's Anglican Chapel and stood on the town's Lairgate (13, xxxiv). This commission may have come about following the successful completion by the architect of the County Rooms in the town (7, x), a lavish public hall completed in 1840.

Subsequent work for the Church of England involved the design of two new churches in Hull, and the alteration of two churches in small villages outside Hull. The two new churches, St Mark's in 1844 (25, xxxv) and St Stephen's from 1845-9 (28, xxxvi) were in rapidly developing (and relatively poor) areas of Hull. The size and ostentatious nature of the buildings undoubtedly reflected the Anglican desire to claim the souls of the residents before they joined Nonconformist churches. The alterations to churches were at St Mary's,

Cottingham (26, xxxviii), then a large village on the western edge of Hull in 1844, and at St Leonard's, Beeford (a small village twelve miles to the north of Hull) in 1846 (29).

The designs for public buildings dominate the commissions of Lockwood's practice in Hull. The provision of workhouses to cope with the increasing numbers of paupers became a major issue in the rapidly expanding towns of the mid-nineteenth century. Workhouse design would become something of a specialism for Lockwood and would be a consistent source of work throughout his partnership with William Mawson. It was, however, during Lockwood's partnership with Thomas Allom that he would design two of his most extensive buildings and presumably sow the seeds for future commissions.

Lockwood had been involved with alterations to a hospital in 1840 when he carried out work to the Royal Infirmary in Hull (10, xx, xxi). Although much of this work involved a cosmetic refacing of the original severely Palladian Infirmary built by George Pycock (1749-99) in 1783/4, the work seems also to have included extending the rear wings, and the addition of rooms to the rear off the main corridor. An early lithograph also shows a gate lodge and separate Tudor Gothic range to the rear which may have been an isolation ward.<sup>(57)</sup>

The knowledge which Lockwood gained from these works seems to have stood him in considerable stead when he entered the design for a workhouse at Brownlow Hill in Liverpool (19, vi). Although neither he nor Thomas Allom, his then partner, had designed a workhouse before (Allom had been unsuccessful with a competition entry for an orphan asylum at Snaresbrook, Middlesex in 1841<sup>(58)</sup>), they won the competition for what was then the largest workhouse in the country. Lockwood was to reveal during the Bradford Workhouse competition that their Liverpool design was in fact initially placed third of 54 competitors, until it was referred to a jury of architects who proclaimed it the winner.<sup>(59)</sup>

The success in this competition seems to have quickly led to the commission for a similarly large 'Industrial School' also in Liverpool at Kirkdale (20, viii). This was to accommodate 1200 'inmates' and again must have been amongst the largest such buildings in the country at the time.<sup>(60)</sup> This too was designed in partnership with Thomas Allom, but by the time



Lockwood was commissioned to design the Sculcoates Union Workhouse (24, ix) back home in Hull, Allom appears to have left the practice. Despite the loss of his partner, Lockwood's building appears to have been well received in the town with the *Hull Advertiser* comparing it to the house of a 'nobleman'.<sup>(61)</sup>

In 1843, Lockwood was commissioned to design three police houses in market towns in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The requirement for 'lock-ups' followed the County Police Act of 1839, and Lockwood designed three virtually identical buildings in Howden (23, xxvii, xxviii), Driffield (21, xxvi) and Market Weighton (22) and a further two in Sproatley and Welton after the partnership with William Mawson was formed.

More substantial public buildings would however be a feature of Lockwood's solo career, and would increasingly dominate his commissions when he moved to Bradford. The Beverley and East Riding Public Rooms in Beverley (7, x) built from 1839-40 was the first of many public halls which Lockwood was to design. The building was intended to act as a concert hall and venue for agricultural and horticultural shows, the £2500 cost for the vast building being raised by public shares.<sup>(62)</sup> After refacing and altering the Hull Royal Infirmary, also in 1840, Lockwood's next public building was again outside the town, in Driffield, where he designed a new corn exchange in 1841 (14). The building did not prove popular with the conservative local farmers who preferred their traditional meeting place in the courtyard of the Bell Hotel,<sup>(63)</sup> and the building subsequently became the town hall before itself being swallowed up by the Bell Hotel.

Lockwood was to enter the competition for another corn exchange back in Hull in 1846, along with his former pupil Cuthbert Brodrick.<sup>(64)</sup> The competition, as was relatively common at the time, was badly run and although both their schemes were apparently well received, uncertainty over the site caused the scheme to be shelved until 1849<sup>(65)</sup> when Lockwood, with his new partner William Mawson, won the revised competition. In the same year they won the competition for a similar building across the River Humber at Brigg.

By the 1840s, Lockwood had clearly established a significant reputation in Hull and he appears to have taken a limited role in the public life of the town. For some time he was a member of the elected Council which oversaw the running of the Zoological Gardens, a facility which Lockwood had largely designed (12, xxxii, xxxiii). The gardens opened in 1841, and Lockwood was the architect of the layout of the garden and many of the exotic buildings which graced the site.

This was clearly one of the more unusual commissions which Lockwood gained whilst practising alone. Otherwise, the range of buildings he designed was relatively limited and most (with the exception of the workhouses in Liverpool) were either in Hull or nearby. The types of commissions which Lockwood gained following his move to Hull were not surprisingly a mixture of those which most late Georgian architects enjoyed, balanced by those brought about by the demand for new types of building which the Victorian era generated. Into the first category fall the country house and rectory commissions, whilst into the latter are colleges, workhouses and public buildings. Stylistically the buildings which Lockwood designed were similarly limited to the influences of the past balanced with the opportunities which new construction techniques would allow.

## **THE STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF LOCKWOOD'S EARLY BUILDINGS**

### **Designs in the Tudor Gothic Style**

Lockwood's training with Robinson clearly had a considerable influence on his early solo practice. All his initial buildings therefore followed the Tudor Gothic style which had grown in popularity during the first part of the nineteenth century when Hunt, Rickman and Robinson in particular promoted its use. Lockwood's first work, the remodelling of a cottage at Winterton in North Lincolnshire (2, i) could have fallen from the pages of any of the pattern books produced by the architect-authors. The detailing, taken in isolation, was scholarly with staged buttresses, centrepieces to each elevation with four-centred arched windows and traceried panels. The whole was arranged totally symmetrically about the building however, with the guiding principle seemingly the creation of a picturesque effect



emphasised by the tallness and number of the pinnacles and the crowning glory of four clustered centrally-placed chimney stacks.

A similar style was applied by Lockwood to his second, and much larger building, the Kingston College in Hull (3, iii). The building was again symmetrical with a gabled centrepiece with paired but smaller gables to each side. The building was dominated by huge shafted buttresses with domed heads and two storey bays with mullioned windows. The centrepiece included a pinnacle crashing through the apex of its gable in much the same way as the end gables at Winterton, but the lancets beside the entrance were more unusual and presumably there to give the central feature sufficient prominence. The combination of the large pinnacles and paired chimney stacks assured the building of a striking silhouette and suitably picturesque form.

The gatelodge to the College (4, iv), which was presumably originally single storeyed, incorporated bays with mullioned windows with arched heads, though because of the smaller scale of the lodge, they were canted rather than squared as on the College. Between them sat a doorway designed, it seems, as a miniature version of the Bootham Bar in York, a well-placed application of an authentic detail and clear reference to Lockwood's work studying the antiquities of the town.

The Tudor Gothic theme was continued in the design of the British National School on Hull's Dansom Lane in 1838 (5, v). A central gable contained an oriel which replaced the bays of his previous buildings, but the mullioned windows with drip moulds were, not surprisingly, common to all his early designs. The crenellated parapet was a new departure from the plainer designs of the earlier buildings. The Kirk Ella Rectory (6) designed in the following year had similarities with the Kingston College, particularly the red brick walls with stone dressings, the pinnacled gable and buttresses with domed caps. The principal window to the ground and first floors designed as a single composition with panels between was similar in concept to those on Lockwood's first solo building at Winterton.

At a similar time to the completion of the Kirk Ella Rectory, Lockwood designed the County

Rooms at Beverley (7, x). This building marked a major shift in style to Classical architecture which would largely dominate not just Lockwood's solo career but also a substantial part of the practice with William Mawson. Lockwood did continue to design in Tudor Gothic into the 1840s, however, though the style was then used purely for workhouses and similar institutions. This was not an uncommon use of the style which had been used largely in the designs of fashionable country houses in the 1830s, but became associated with welfare, poverty and charity as Victoria's reign continued.

In 1843, Lockwood together with Thomas Allom designed two large institutions in Liverpool; the workhouse at Brownlow Hill (19, vi, vii) and the Kirkdale Industrial Schools (20, viii). The latter had the mullioned windows, parapet gables and oriel windows (rising two storeys and linked by carved panels) of Lockwood's buildings of the late 1830s, though the centrepiece of a clock tower with curious domed roof and pinnacles was more fanciful. The character of Brownlow Hill was very much more Dutch in influence with Dutch gables and transom and mullion windows combined with the more familiar oriel windows and clustered chimney stacks. The centrepiece here had a large domed bell tower and at ground floor there appears to have originally been some form of cloister presumably to shelter those convalescing outdoors. The Dutch gables, cloister and a variation on the Kirkdale bell tower were all features which would be used by Allom in his design for the Kensington Workhouse in 1847.<sup>(66)</sup>

Lockwood's final essay in the Tudor Gothic style appears to have been his most lavish. Like the Kingston College further along Hull's Beverley Road, the Sculcoates Workhouse (24, ix) was of red brick with stone detailing. The *Hull Advertiser* was lavish in its praise of the new workhouse:-

‘Not many passengers along the Beverley-road would imagine that the beautiful and immense structure which is in course of erection, on ground just beyond the town, is intended for the reception of paupers. Its front aspect would not disgrace the residence of a nobleman; it is in a plain Gothic style, and of an extent far greater than that of any other edifice in or near Hull’<sup>(67)</sup>

The article concluded that ‘the exterior...is of great beauty, and has a far more noble



appearance than any of the fine edifices in that locality'.<sup>(68)</sup>

## **Classical Designs**

Despite the praise lavished on his design for the Sculcoates Workhouse, Lockwood seems to have realised that the fashion for Tudor Gothic buildings was on the wane and his reputation in Hull became based principally on his outstanding Neoclassical buildings. Although the Gothic Revival was attracting followers largely in London, Oxford and Cambridge, this tended to be supported by Anglicans and was viewed as an inappropriate design for buildings in the developing Nonconformist towns. Hull was no exception and it had a solid tradition of Neoclassical buildings which Lockwood was able to build upon.

His first Classical building was not in Hull however but in the nearby market town of Beverley in 1839. The Beverley and East Riding Public Rooms at Norwood in the town (7, x) were designed as a concert hall and venue for agricultural shows. The exterior appears to have been plain with the principal feature being its high-level lunette windows. The interior was in complete contrast and comprised a single large room divided into bays by richly carved Corinthian pilasters supporting an ornate frieze. The detailing was said to be based on 'Roman Baths'<sup>(69)</sup> and the large scale and intersecting domes within which the 'clerestorey' of lunettes were set owed something to the Thermae at Caracalla. Contemporary engravings give the interior a decidedly French feel which would also pervade many of Lockwood's subsequent interiors.

In the same year, Lockwood designed his first Classical building in Hull when he was commissioned to build a new, larger chapel for the influential Trinity House (8, xi-xvii). The major similarities with the Public Rooms at Beverley were the plainness of the outside in marked contrast to the sumptuous detail of the interior and the device of using high-level lunette windows to light the internal space. The plan of the Trinity House Chapel was based on a Greek Cross and had a groin-vaulted centre supporting a central ribbed dome (xiii). To the west was a short, coffered, barrel-vaulted arm supported on pilasters (xii), balanced to the east by an apse standing on columns (xiv). In the west arm was a gallery standing on square

pillars. A highly decorative Corinthian Order was used, modified by Lockwood to include appropriate nautical motifs such as shells, dolphins and anchors in the capitals (xv). The columns and pilasters supported a heavy decorative frieze which ran around the interior of the building.

Marble was used extensively for the interior finishes, with a white veined variety for the pilasters and brown Ashford marble used for the columns in the apse and the dado whilst the inlaid floor was of white and grey-brown marble. Lockwood also designed the box pews and a fine square pulpit with bronze mouldings. He had apparently favoured the use of two pulpits to enhance the symmetry of the interior, though this idea appears to have been discounted by the House Board.<sup>(70)</sup> Lockwood's attention to detail even included the gallery staircase with delicate cast-iron balusters and a newel modelled on a 'Roman candelabrum'.<sup>(71)</sup>

Externally, the building was more austere Classical with an east elevation with a plain pediment supported by Greek Corinthian pilasters (xvi). The west elevation was stuccoed and had a tall tetrastyle porch with antae and a tripartite lunette above (xvii). Other similar windows were set in the dome to downlight the crossing.

The Trinity House Chapel is an important, if largely overlooked, building in the development of Neoclassical styles in the transition between the architecture of the Georgian and early Victorian eras. Whilst the exterior is subdued and correct, as was typical in the Greek Revival of the 1820s, the use of a highly decorative Corinthian Order internally marks the beginning of the increasingly 'showy' development of Classical forms which would be a feature of the Victorian era.

Whilst work was underway on the Trinity House Chapel, Lockwood was actively engaged in the design of two other outstanding Neoclassical buildings in the town. The Albion Independent Congregational Chapel (17, xviii) was a massive prostyle hexastyle temple with a Giant Order of fluted Doric columns. These supported a plain but perfectly proportioned pediment on a frieze of triglyphs and the chapel was given added presence on the street by



being raised up on a podium which also allowed school rooms and burial vaults to be provided beneath the chapel.<sup>(72)</sup> The provision for education was of primary importance for the Nonconformists at this time, as they sought to develop a wider social role for the church.<sup>(73)</sup> This building was in the solidly correct Greek Revival traditions of the Georgian period, though this was largely restricted to the front elevation which was of stone whilst the sides were by economic necessity of grey brick with stone surrounds to the windows. Internally, to enable 1642 worshippers to be seated all within clear sight of the pulpit, internal galleries supported by ‘Grecian’ cast iron columns<sup>(74)</sup> were provided. Probably the most remarkable aspect of the building works was the shortness of the contract; the foundation stone was laid on 7 July 1841, and the massive chapel completed and open within a year.<sup>(75)</sup>

Lockwood’s other ‘temple’ of the 1840s, the Great Thornton Street Wesleyan Chapel (15, xix), was a prostyle octastyle building with a much more ‘showy’ order of Corinthian columns used for the principal building. Greek Doric colonnades however linked the centrepiece to pedimented end pavilions which were miniature Doric distyle in antis temples. Lockwood was therefore using the showier Corinthian Order for the centrepiece, with the visually tougher (and cheaper) Doric Order for the supporting cast. The whole building was again raised up on a podium and accessed via a broad flight of steps. Although the cost was over £7,000,<sup>(76)</sup> economies again had to be made and only the front of the chapel was in ashlar with the sides and rear of brick with stone dressings to the windows. The chapel also had internal galleries and could therefore seat around 1400.

Despite the enthusiasm for Gothic churches in the capital, the *Illustrated London News* commented that ‘the design presents a striking improvement upon the general style and character of places of worship not belonging to the Established Church [showing] the great advance of refinement and taste in the Fine Arts observable among Dissenters’.<sup>(77)</sup> Hitchcock goes further considering that the chapel put all the Anglican Churches of the period to shame.<sup>(78)</sup>

Despite the success of his Classical buildings, remarkably Lockwood would design very little in this style until the commencement of work in Bradford. Even more surprisingly,

Lockwood did not design again for the Nonconformists until he moved to West Yorkshire. All his subsequent ecclesiastical commissions in Hull were for the Anglicans and involved either the restoration of existing buildings or the design of new Gothic edifices.

Lockwood's only other Classical commissions whilst working alone were the cosmetic alterations to the Royal Infirmary in Hull's Prospect Street in 1840 (10, xx, xxi), and his work at Sewerby House in Bridlington which occupied much of the 1840s. The alterations to the Royal Infirmary serve to illustrate the change in taste from the severe Neoclassical style of the late eighteenth century. Pycock's original building of 1783-4 was austere and Palladian, and Lockwood refaced the building with a Greek Corinthian portico with Doric end pavilions (in the manner of the Great Thornton Street Chapel). The facelift brought the building up-to-date stylistically and was an interesting precursor not just of the Great Thornton Street design, but also of the St George's Hall in Bradford with its rusticated base.

The extensive work at Sewerby Hall (9, xxii-xxiv, xxx, xxxi) clearly gave Lockwood the opportunity to show his full repertoire of Classical designs to a wealthy private client. Perhaps most interesting are his proposals for a gate lodge, one version of which shows paired temples in the Albion Street genre facing each other across a gated entrance.<sup>(79)</sup> Other designs with elaborate gateways and picturesque, though Classically inspired, lodges were also suggested (xxii). The built form differs from all the surviving drawings and comprises a fine lofty Doric triumphal arch (xxiii) with a frieze of triglyphs and metopes supporting a plain pediment. The arch is coffered internally and is flanked by paired lodges with projecting stone quoins, pyramidal roofs and sash windows with plain aediculated stone surrounds. Lockwood also added another triumphal arch beside the new stables to the house. This was of the Doric Order with pilasters supporting a recessed arch with a keystone. The cornice is topped by a curious scroll decoration on a base with a Greek key motif. In 1847 he also designed the clock tower attached to the stables (xxiv). This took the form of a single-storey portico with Tuscan columns and a plain pediment. From the attic rose the clock tower itself with Greek key motifs and console brackets supporting the overhanging eaves of the roof.

Surviving plans indicate the range of Classical parkland buildings which Lockwood proposed.



These included a summerhouse with a Corinthian aedicule surrounding an arch supported on two pairs of Tuscan columns in the manner of a Venetian window.<sup>(80)</sup> The designs for two other shelters survive; one a similar miniature 'temple' with a dentilled pediment with acroteria supported on paired Tuscan columns,<sup>(81)</sup> whilst the other was a curiously showy structure with a very flat pediment supported on pilasters decorated with garlands.<sup>(82)</sup> Other plans of balustrades and gates also survive as do those of a cottage and conservatory.

Lockwood did design other buildings which might broadly be described as Classical before he left for Bradford with his new partner. The corn exchange at Driffield (14), of which only a fragment survives, was built in 1841 with a tall doorway surrounded by rusticated masonry and a keystone with a carved head; a feature which would become very much a trade-mark of the new practice. Back in Hull, The Institute (30, xxv), originally a large house for Dr James Alderson<sup>(83)</sup> and built in 1846 was a substantial ashlar-built house of five bays. Stylistically it was remarkably restrained with decoration restricted to a porch of paired Tuscan columns with a balcony above, small balconies to the first floor windows with balustrades to the ground storey, and an overhanging cornice. The building bears more than a passing resemblance to De Grey House in York designed by P.F. Robinson and G.T. Andrews in 1835,<sup>(84)</sup> and stylistically looks back to the houses of the late Georgian era.

Much more interesting were the police houses designed by Lockwood in 1843 in Driffield, Howden and Market Weighton. The basic design of the three 1843 buildings was virtually identical although there were minor variations in the detail. Stylistically, they were clearly influenced by the picturesque pattern-book designs of the early nineteenth century, though the gentle Italianate detail was the shape of things to come as far as Lockwood's future designs were concerned. The general form of the police houses, for example, is directly comparable with the extensive range of residential accommodation which Lockwood and Mawson would provide in Saltaire.

Lockwood's first three Police Houses (for he would design two others shortly after forming the partnership with William Mawson) each had their main entrance through a round-arched door set in a projecting central bay. This bay was a full two-storeys high with a hipped slate

roof and wide projecting eaves. A first-floor window sat centrally above the entrance door. Small slit windows to each side of the door allowed views of the front steps from the lobbies to the kitchen and parlour within. Either side of the entrance bay were lower recessed side wings with windows in the ground floor only. The wings were high enough to provide a half-storey with gable windows at first floor level.

The Driffield Police House (21, xxvi) was slightly taller than those at Market Weighton (22) and Howden (23, xxvii) though the major differences between the buildings were in the architectural detailing. The house at Howden had a continuously moulded surround to the main door; that at Driffield a keyblock. The windows at Howden had eared architraves, whilst those at Driffield were plain. The central bay at Driffield had pilaster strips whilst Howden simply had a stringcourse between ground and first floors. It seems that the building at Market Weighton was more similar to Howden than Driffield, though later alterations to the wings and windows makes this less obvious today. As the Driffield building was taller, the first floor window above the main door was correspondingly better proportioned than the squat windows at Howden and Market Weighton. All the buildings were of brick; white at Market Weighton, red for the other two.

Lockwood's original plans of the Howden 'lock-up' survive (xxviii)<sup>(85)</sup> as does a letter to the Clerk of the Peace dated November 20 1843, in which he makes suggestions to change the orientation of the cells 'by which equal accommodation is obtained, and much less ground required'.<sup>(86)</sup> The plans all show highly economical and convenient use of the space, with separation of the housebody from the cells. To the left-hand side of each house was a single storey covered yard and stable, whilst to the right was a covered yard, privies and larder for the Constable.

The plans which survive for Lockwood's work at Sewerby Hall show great similarities in the design of gate lodges, and also a free-standing cottage (xxxi)<sup>(87)</sup> with the police house designs. The roof forms, overhanging eaves, parapet gables and window surrounds are all comparable, but more particularly the underlying principle of arranging features to produce a picturesque effect links all these early house designs and forms the basis of many of



Lockwood's later residential commissions.

### **Parkland and Garden Buildings**

The taste for the exotic which had developed alongside the desire for picturesque effect did not disappear in the Victorian era. It continued to manifest itself in the large country houses and particularly in the design of garden buildings as a fashion for cultivating rare tropical plant species developed. By the 1840s, the growing middle classes, in a desire to keep up with the latest (or rather lag slightly behind the latest) fashions, also cultivated a taste for the exotic. This led to commissions for unusual garden buildings in both country houses and in the developing public parks. Lockwood's training in both the picturesque and the exotic whilst articulated to Robinson left him handily placed to capitalise on the demand for such buildings.

His first such commission was for Lady Marianne Constable, the first wife of Sir Clifford Constable for whom he designed a conservatory attached to her boudoir at Burton Constable Hall (18, xxix). The hall dated largely from the Elizabethan era, and Lockwood added a small conservatory to the south front in an appropriate 'Jacobethan' style. Both the style and the type of commission were therefore of a form common to Georgian architects. Lockwood's designs even had three attached overlays in the manner of Humphry Repton (1752-1818) so that his patron could choose an appropriate strapwork device to decorate the door to the garden. Otherwise the building was quite simple with transom and mullion windows and an aviary and fountain inside.<sup>(88)</sup> The detailed accounts which Lockwood submitted to Sir Clifford Constable indicate that modifications were made to the designs and a new window provided,<sup>(89)</sup> and that Lockwood was extremely thorough in his specification of timber with deal used for the windows, mouldings and cornices, fir for the lintels and oak for the floors.

This conservatory was small, but the one he designed for Yarrowburgh Graeme at Sewerby Hall was a huge octagonal structure of timber, glass and iron (xxx). The walls had Tuscan pilasters dividing the sash windows and supporting a large frieze. A gently curving roof then ran up to a small clerestorey of miniature pilasters which supported a modillion cornice all

held upon eight substantial columns inside the structure. The domed glass and iron roof above the modillion cornice was topped by a spiky finial.<sup>(90)</sup>

Buildings of a similar scale were designed by Lockwood for the Hull Zoological Garden (12, xxxii, xxxiii) as the middle classes caught the obsession with exotic flora and fauna and consequently the buildings in which to house them. The gardens were opened in 1840, and as a later retrospective commented; 'the Zoo was laid out with an eye to the picturesque, some of the buildings being designed in the Swiss and others in the Moorish style of architecture'.<sup>(91)</sup> The buildings were described as 'the most tasteful and picturesque character, constructed upon totally novel designs on a scale of magnificence far surpassing anything which has been attempted at any other Zoological Gardens in the Kingdom.'<sup>(92)</sup> Lockwood's grounds found equal favour; they 'were tastefully arranged and broken into terraces, parterres and walks of great variety, which with the addition of a couple of lakes with islands, afforded a number of enchanting vistas, in which the fountains throwing up their high and graceful jets of water, form a most beautiful picture.'<sup>(93)</sup>

The entrance from Spring Bank was formed by a Swiss Chalet whilst other buildings included a large menagerie, elephant house, theatre and music hall, grotto and crane house, rustic footbridge, camera obscura, refreshment buildings and various cages and pits. At the north of the site and raised on a terrace were a large bird house, monkey house and menagerie; all 'artificially heated for the comfort of the different animals'.<sup>(94)</sup> These buildings were described as in the Moorish style whilst behind, rather curiously, stood 'a fine shooting gallery and keeper's lodge'.<sup>(95)</sup>

The picturesque nature of these buildings and their exotic style clearly appealed to the better-off residents of Hull, and Lockwood's buildings followed the fashion for scenic buildings and landscaped grounds which had blossomed in the previous century. What makes the zoo buildings and the outstanding conservatory at Sewerby Hall particularly noteworthy was the early use of glass and iron to produce such buildings. The use of these 'new' materials would be most famously employed at the Crystal Palace in 1851, but they would also enable the numerous markets, exchanges and even the inner rooms of hotels, banks and warehouses of



the Victorian era to be well lit and ventilated. Lockwood was clearly comfortable in the use of such materials, as the buildings he designed with William Mawson would illustrate.

## **Gothic Churches**

Lockwood's use of the 'Tudorbethan' style for his early buildings associated with education and charity has already been noted. The style was also felt suitable for the design of the single rectory he designed during his solo career. Such a style was not really considered to be Gothic by architects such as Robinson who promoted its use because it was an English style capable of being used to picturesque effect and therefore suitable for private houses. It was not until the discourses of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin became widely disseminated that the style became considered unsuitable for ecclesiastical buildings and even then Pugin himself was perfectly content to use it for rectories and domestic commissions.<sup>(96)</sup>

One of the most surprising features of Lockwood's early career was that despite designing two very fine Nonconformist Chapels in the early 1840s, the rest of his solo career would be dominated by the design of Gothic churches for the Anglicans. This is particularly unusual given Lockwood's Congregationalist background and the polemic of Pugin and the Camdenians who were so influential in Anglican church matters and who decreed that only good Anglican churchmen could build suitable Anglican churches.<sup>(97)</sup>

Clearly Lockwood did not conform to this ideal, yet in 1841 whilst still working on both the Trinity House and Great Thornton Street Chapels, Lockwood was commissioned to design a small chapel of ease for Beverley Minster on the town's Lairgate (13, xxxiv). The chapel, which was considerably more comfortable than the nave of the Minster, was very popular and only 300 of its 900 seats were free, the rest being rented<sup>(98)</sup> and again in direct conflict with the ideas of the Camdenians.

The building was in the Early English Gothic style with quite scholarly use of Gothic detailing copied from the east end of the Minster. It seems extremely likely that Lockwood and his pupil Brodrick undertook a considerable study of the architecture of the Minster, as

evidenced also by Brodrick's detailed drawings of the Percy Tomb. Clearly the architect was keen to give the new building something of the character of the Minster, though in any case, Early English Gothic was a fashionable style for church buildings in the last years of the 1830s and early 1840s. Even Pugin used the style himself, and the contemporary treatises on church building such as Charles Anderson's 'Ancient Models; or Hints on Church-building' held up such churches as models.

The St John's Anglican Chapel was however a relatively simple building with a basic box-shape (more akin to a Nonconformist place of worship) and with its Gothic ornament, not unusually for the time, symmetrically arranged. The slightly prominent centrepiece had three large lancet windows, with two slightly recessed side bays which had groupings of a similarly proportioned lancet with the spikiest of First-Pointed windows squeezed in beside them. This arrangement was copied directly from the Minster. A band of dogtooth moulding emphasised the centrepiece and the end of the facade had angle buttresses taken up beyond the eaves and topped with steeply pitched caps. The capitals of the shafts had stylised foliage with sinuous intertwined leaves which appear to be without precedent in the Minster.

The fenestration in the upper part of the central gable was, however, closer to Decorated Gothic with three lancets with cusped heads topped by a cinquefoil. The gable and central entrance porch also had crockets more typical of Gothic ornament of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Lockwood's use of this style was therefore very up-to-date as Decorated Gothic became the adopted style for the High Anglicans following the polemic of Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society. The predominant form of Gothic architecture used by the majority of church architects in the 1830s and 1840s was Perpendicular, though by the early 1840s the *Ecclesiologist* (the principal organ of the Cambridge Camden Society) would decry the use of such a style because of its chronological proximity to the Reformation. Curiously one of the leading Anglican Church architects of the era, George Gilbert Scott (1811-78), was an exact contemporary of Lockwood, and the churches which he designed were either influenced by Continental models or were in the Gothic of the transition between the First- and Second-Pointed eras just like those of Lockwood.



Lockwood designed two much larger Gothic churches for the Anglicans both in rapidly expanding areas of Hull. St Mark's (25, xxxv) in an area assigned from the parish of Sutton was capable of seating 1115 people<sup>(99)</sup> and consisted of a nave with lean-to aisles, transepts and an apsidal end to the chancel. At the west end was a remarkably slender spire. The building was again principally in a Gothic style of the transition between the Early English and Decorated phases with lancets with cusped heads and cinquefoils as on the gabled front of the Beverley chapel. The bays of the aisles and apse were divided by staged buttresses with crocketed pinnacles. The spire was, however, the most noteworthy feature, not just because of its height but also for its slender mullions and buttresses which gave it a very Perpendicular Gothic feel. Inside, the lofty interior had slender clustered columns with waterleaf capitals. As the building was in a poor area, the building materials were predominantly red brick with stone restricted to the detailing.

St Stephen's Church (28, xxxvi), which was consecrated in the following year was, in contrast to St Mark's, constructed entirely of stone including an attractive vaulted interior. The church was one of the town's principal landmarks and again stylistically in the Gothic of the Early English period. The facade was dominated by a symmetrically-placed west tower which was the width of the nave behind. To the sides were lofty aisles with gable ends to the street. These contained chunky lancet windows, whilst the main entrance was through the base of the tower where twinned doors were set within an arched opening. Above was a blind arcade of small lancets, whilst the second stage of the tower was dominated by three tall lancets, the central one the higher, with the whole essay topped by a tall broach spire. As at St Mark's, staged buttresses abound though the pinnacles are far plainer than on the earlier church.

Inside, the slender clustered columns and vaulted ceiling produced a light and lofty interior with galleries in the transepts supported on cast iron columns. The gallery fronts were decorated with a blind arcade of lancets, whilst in the chancel was a large sedilia with simple trefoiled heads.

Although little separated St Mark's and St Stephen's churches chronologically, there were

considerable differences stylistically even though both were basically in the Early English Gothic style and had symmetrically-placed west towers. St Mark's is much more an amalgam of features with Decorated detailing and a tower with a slender Perpendicular feel. The pinnacled tops to the buttresses look back to the applied Gothic of Lockwood's picturesque buildings of his early career. Whilst such an eclectic building was certainly not unusual amongst church designs of the 1840s, it could not be considered a leading design of its day. Although St Stephen's is unlikely to have found favour with the Camdenians because of its internal galleries and slightly early style (by the mid-1840s, the Ecclesiologists were strongly advocating Decorated as the only suitable Gothic style), the church did have the essential 'English Parish Church' feel which the Anglicans sought.

In addition to the design of new churches, Lockwood was also involved in the restoration of three Anglican churches whilst in the East Riding. In 1841, he began work (probably in association with Thomas Allom) on the restoration of the Holy Trinity Church in Hull (16, xxxvii). Here he reroofed the crossing which has an attractive star pattern of lierne vaults. In 1846 he completed the design of a new pulpit. This was an outstanding stone structure in a sumptuous Decorated Gothic with a staircase entwining a central pillar. The beauty of the pulpit illustrates Lockwood's mastery of the use of Gothic ornament much more ably than his two new churches. It was also stylistically up-to-date as would be required in the principal Anglican church in the town.

In 1844, Lockwood appears to have restored the Church of St Mary at Cottingham on the edge of Hull (26, xxxviii). Here he removed the galleries (which were by now unpopular with the Anglican arbiters of taste), reroofed the church, rebuilt the bellframe and renewed the floor to allow for heating beneath. An organ, Caen stone communion rail and new pews were also designed together with a pulpit of similar design to the Holy Trinity Church in Hull. The Cottingham pulpit had the addition of an elaborate Decorated canopy with a central pinnacle.

Two years later in 1846, Lockwood added a north arcade and aisle to St Leonard's Church in Beeford, a small village near Driffeld (29). The church was in Perpendicular Gothic style, and Lockwood's additions were carried out in a suitable Third-Pointed style. The windows



therefore had drip moulds with labels, on which Lockwood could not resist the addition of carved heads. The incorporation of such detail to both Gothic and Classical buildings would be a favourite characteristic of Lockwood's subsequent work with William Mawson.

## CONCLUSIONS

Lockwood clearly rose quickly to prominence in his adopted home. Like most architects of the early Victorian period he was prepared to design buildings in a variety of styles, and as was typical of the era, certain styles were popular for certain types of building. Lockwood's Classical designs show an exceptional talent and his solo career laid the foundations for the design of many outstanding if less 'pure' buildings of his later career. Lockwood clearly studied Gothic buildings quite closely and was able to use Gothic ornament to produce attractive buildings. But the Gothic 'spirit', which Pugin and later Ruskin were so keen to encourage, was missing in the buildings of Lockwood just as it was in those of almost every other architect of the 1830s and '40s. His application of detail was more influenced by the Gothic ideals of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century which sought a 'picturesque' effect.

This is not to say that Lockwood's designs had developed little since his training with P.F. Robinson, merely that he was following the general architectural climate of the era. Lockwood was not, after all, an Anglican and so he was unlikely to eke out a career designing for the Established Church or be influenced directly by men such as Pugin who saw Gothic architecture in terms of its religious symbolism. It is probably testament to Lockwood's talent that the undoubtedly 'lower' Anglicans in a town such as Hull (compared with the Established church hot-beds of London, Cambridge and Oxford) were prepared to overlook his background because they knew he would design churches which would be a fine advertisement for their faith. Like his contemporary George Gilbert Scott, Lockwood was 'not an extremist but an opportunist'.<sup>(100)</sup>

Despite his success, or perhaps because of it, Lockwood appears to have been very keen to find a partner to share the workload. Once a suitable man had been found, the partnership

not only took on a new direction but moved wholesale to Bradford, the fastest growing settlement in Yorkshire.



## CHAPTER 2: THE PRACTICE OF LOCKWOOD AND MAWSON

### THE FORMATION OF THE NEW PARTNERSHIP

Henry Lockwood's search for a partner ended during 1849 when he met William Mawson, a twenty-one year old who had just completed his articles. The circumstances behind the meeting of the two prospective partners appears never to have been documented. A. H. Robinson in his two articles entitled 'The Story of a Great Partnership' states that Lockwood came to Bradford to partner William (and later Richard) Mawson in 1849.<sup>(1)</sup> This view is reiterated in the Macmillian Encyclopaedia of Architects,<sup>(2)</sup> whilst Linstrum simply, but more accurately, states that 'Lockwood became a partner of William Mawson in 1849, and they opened an office in Bradford.'<sup>(3)</sup>

*The Builder* reporting on the competition for the design of the Bradford Workhouse in 1849 stated that 'the advice of two practical men; Mr Illingworth and Mr Mawson was being sought'<sup>(4)</sup> following difficulties with the submitted schemes. As one of the favoured schemes was that submitted by Henry Lockwood, it could be assumed that this was how the two met, particularly as the final competition-winning scheme has always been considered to be the first commission of Lockwood and Mawson.

Lockwood and Mawson clearly met before the Bradford Workhouse Competition however. Editions of *The Builder* from earlier in 1849 show that the partnership had already been formed. The first of these dated 22 September 1849 concerns the competition for the Brigg Corn Exchange 'which has been decided in favour of Lockwood and Mawson of Hull'.<sup>(5)</sup> The partnership was again mentioned in the edition of November 10 1849 which reported on the Hull Corn Exchange Competition in which 'the plan selected was one furnished by Messrs. Lockwood and Mawson, of Hull'.<sup>(6)</sup> The same page of the same edition reports on the tenders for the Brigg Corn Exchange again naming Lockwood and Mawson as architects.

The hypothesis that Lockwood and Mawson worked together in Hull before moving to Bradford is given further support by William Mawson's obituary in the Bradford Observer.

This describes how ‘Immediately on completing his indentures, having then attained his majority, he (Mawson) joined Mr Lockwood at Hull. Shortly afterwards, about the year 1850, the firm of Lockwood and Mawson commenced business in Bradford, and quickly came to the front’.<sup>(7)</sup> It seems likely therefore that William Mawson in fact joined Lockwood in Hull and worked there with him for around one year before the practice moved to Bradford. The pattern of the practice’s commissions further supports this theory as all the work gained in 1849 with the exception of the Bradford Workhouse entry was based in the East Riding.

## **WILLIAM MAWSON**

William Mawson was born in Leeds in 1828, the son of a paper manufacturer.<sup>(8)</sup> He was articled to a firm of Leeds architects, named in Mawson’s obituary as ‘Messrs. Chantrell and Dobson, the principal architects practising in Leeds forty years ago.’<sup>(9)</sup> Robert Dennis Chantrell (1793-1872) was a pupil of Sir John Soane (from 1807-14) before setting up practice in Leeds. He specialised in Gothic churches, and gave a discourse to the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1847 on Norman roof design.<sup>(10)</sup> He had also been surveyor to York Minster in 1829. When he returned to London in 1846, he handed over the running of the Leeds practice to his son John Bonham Chantrell (fl. 1812-48) who continued to specialise in church building.<sup>(11)</sup> John Dobson also practised in Leeds during the 1850s when he had an office in the town’s Park Row<sup>(12)</sup>. Mawson therefore worked for two of the town’s most successful practices and would have completed his training having experienced the development pressures and subsequent demand for new buildings in the West Riding of Yorkshire. He was however still a young man; at twenty-one years of age some seventeen years younger than Henry Lockwood. Mawson may therefore seem at first glance an odd choice of partner for an established architect, but his practical abilities appear to have complemented Lockwood’s artistic flair perfectly, perhaps in contrast to the more artistic but possibly temperamental architects who had worked with Lockwood before 1849.

Lockwood was obviously keen to find a partner probably as a result of the success of his practice in Hull. He had of course been partnered for around three years by Thomas Allom and had invited Cuthbert Brodrick, his former pupil, to join him in partnership without



success. Allom's particular strength was his drawing and watercolouring talent though he proved in his later solo career that he was a competent designer particularly of workhouse buildings. Brodrick too was not without artistic talent and was also a gifted architect whose influences were extremely similar to those which would prove important as Lockwood's career progressed. Mawson however, although a competent architect, appears to have been particularly strong in the practical rather than artistic aspects of design.

William Mawson appears to have excelled as a clerk of works who costed out and organised the physical construction of the buildings and ensured that the designs were in fact capable of being built. Such skills are evidenced by the fact that on his retirement from the firm in 1886, he specialised in arbitration and valuation and supervised the transfer of the huge Lister's textile concern in Manningham to a limited company.<sup>(13)</sup> Although there seems little doubt that Henry Lockwood was the major artistic talent in the new partnership, the importance of William Mawson should not be underestimated. Lockwood clearly listened to the man he referred to as his 'junior partner', as apparently it was only William Mawson's 'earnest wish' which persuaded Lockwood to enter the Bradford Wool Exchange competition in 1864.<sup>(14)</sup>

The nature of Mawson's skills were highly valued in the Victorian era. By the 1860s, as architecture became 'more a business than a profession,'<sup>(15)</sup> many architects took on clerks or assistants who acted as quantity surveyors. During the course of his career, Gilbert Scott employed 48 clerks of works,<sup>(16)</sup> whilst Temple Moore brought in expert surveying advice when required on larger projects.<sup>(17)</sup> William Mawson seems to have been a particularly valuable member of the practice with his ability to design and estimate. This went beyond the usual range of a Clerk of Works duties, as it does not appear that Mawson supervised work on site, leaving this to specifically employed, usually local, men. Instead, William Mawson seems to have accurately costed the works at the outset and then maintained an overseeing role on the progress of the works. This was after all an era when almost all architectural practices of the time who entered a design competition were pilloried in either the local press or trade journals for submitting schemes which were incapable of being built within the competition budget. It was therefore important to have within the practice a



competent estimator and valuer. Whilst this charge was still quite frequently levied against Lockwood and Mawson, they always managed to convince the various committees that their sums added up. The funding of new workhouse buildings for example appears to have come under particularly close scrutiny. In the Bradford Workhouse competition, Lockwood and Mawson were able very quickly to price up the additional cost of facilities suggested by the Poor Law Board, and were confident enough of their profit margins to base their fee on the original cost, not the increased cost which any additional facilities would entail.<sup>(18)</sup> Even this did not prevent the Board attempting to foist the cost of an ‘independent’ clerk of works onto the architects, much to *The Builder*’s disapproval.<sup>(19)</sup> In the Carlisle Workhouse competition, when the Board of Guardians not unusually attempted to make financial savings, the architects were quickly able to weigh up the cost of doing so in financial, practical and aesthetic terms and so were able to persuade the Board of the error of its ways. They were also confident enough of their estimate to agree to superintend the building works for 5% of the cost and not to claim travelling expenses.<sup>(20)</sup> Reports in the *Building News* in 1861 show that the architects, at the bidding of the building committee, managed to bring about economies and thereby reduce the estimated cost of the Oxford Street Wesleyan Methodist Church in Harrogate from £4000 to £3500 between 24 May and 14 June.<sup>(21)</sup>

William Mawson’s estimating and project management skills were probably most severely tested during the construction works at Saltaire. Clearly even by Victorian standards this was a huge undertaking and probably one which few architectural practices of the time would have had the capacity to handle. The difficulty of coordinating the works would have been made even more difficult for the architects by Titus Salt’s decision to let contracts at fixed prices for different aspects of the mill building work rather than the more normal and easier to manage tendering process. Salt’s reasons were obviously to speed up the building works and keep a close eye on the finances, but the result was an army of workmen on site. Consequently there were three contracts for the masonry (Fearnley and Wainwright of Bradford, Moulson of Bradford and Hogg of Leeds); three contracts for the joinery (Neil of Bradford, Beanland of Bradford and Ives of Shipley); the mill iron work was from Cliffe and Co.’s foundry in Bradford, although the girder bridge was by Josh. Hill and Son of Bradford. Even though various contracts had not been let by the end of 1852, the construction works



still needed three overseers (George Hogg, James Ogilvie and William Chesterton).<sup>(22)</sup>

## OTHER PARTNERS AND ASSISTANTS

Lockwood and Mawson seem to have quickly developed their partnership on arrival in Bradford and were already advertising for assistants early in 1850 when they placed advertisements for an articled pupil in the *Bradford Observer*.<sup>(23)</sup> A second advertisement suggested that the successful candidate would have ‘some taste for drawing’.<sup>(24)</sup> William Mawson’s younger brother Richard may have been the pupil who gained the position. He must have joined the practice very soon after its establishment, as by 1856 at the age of just twenty-two, he had been made a partner. The younger Mawson had been educated at Mr Hiley’s College in Leeds, and was apparently an exceptionally talented sketcher, a faculty which may have lead him into the architectural profession.<sup>(25)</sup> The *Yorkshire Daily Observer* described him as ‘a young architect of special talent who had been admitted to the partnership at an early age’.<sup>(26)</sup> Undoubtedly Richard Mawson would have been responsible for many of the architectural drawings produced by the company, particularly whilst Henry Lockwood was working in London. Although he does not seem to have had the architectural talent of Lockwood, he was clearly highly competent and must have played a major if underestimated role in the development of the company. He was after all with the company throughout its most successful years.

Many architectural practices in the Victorian era were nepotistic and were willing to provide employment for relatives. The Pugins, the Barrys, the Waterhouses and the Scotts all employed family members as their practices developed. In the case of Lockwood and Mawson, this included not just Richard Mawson, but also the Mawsons’ nephew Francis Mawson Rattenbury.

The fourth partner was Robert Hudson. Hudson hailed from Keighley where he was educated at ‘Mr Cockcroft’s Private School’.<sup>(27)</sup> He joined the firm in 1869 but did not become a partner until after Lockwood’s death and the retirement of William Mawson. It is clear that even in 1877 he was still in a relatively junior role as his name appears on the plan of a

warehouse enlargement verifying the dimensions of the plot.<sup>(28)</sup> In 1886 however he became Richard Mawson's partner<sup>(29)</sup> and appears to have continued in practice after Richard Mawson's death in 1904, the firm still being registered in the Post Office Directory until 1912.<sup>(30)</sup>

Lockwood and Mawson's practice seems to have been quite a large concern particularly when compared with those of architects such as Richard Norman Shaw who only had a handful of assistants working with him.<sup>(31)</sup> During the sixties, Lockwood and Mawson had at least twelve assistants as they were all working on the Bradford Wool Exchange competition drawings in 1864.<sup>(32)</sup> It seems likely that from around 1850 to the end of the century they employed a similar number to Waterhouse who was similarly prodigious yet largely regional. Waterhouse employed in total 86 draughtsmen and assistants during his career, with a large number of these in the boom period from 1865-75.<sup>(33)</sup> In Lockwood and Mawson's case, the boom was probably slightly earlier, from the mid 1850s until around 1870 with a contraction during the 1870s.

Little is known about the assistants employed. The twelve assistants who had worked full-time to complete the Bradford Wool Exchange designs in 1864 were probably not the entire size of the practice, and even by the end of the century, when the glory years of Lockwood and Mawson were clearly over, they still employed 'an efficient number of assistants'.<sup>(34)</sup>

One of the better-known assistants was Charles Heathcote who joined the firm in 1871 and worked for them for a year. He went on to make his name as an architect in Manchester who specialised in huge manufacturing concerns, including the Ford car plants at Trafford Park and at Dagenham, his designs strongly influenced by the Modern Movement.<sup>(35)</sup>

In 1877, the plans for the enlargement of a warehouse block off Church Bank in Bradford were marked, presumably by one of the assistants in response to a request from the Corporation, to verify the width of Vicar Lane. This was carried out by William Allom for the architects.<sup>(36)</sup> This may well have been a relation of Thomas Allom, with whom Lockwood had worked in the 1840s, and may well have kept in contact with particularly when working



in London. The link between Lockwood and Mawson is further strengthened as Thomas Allom's most famous son, A.T. Allom attended the Merchant Taylor's School, one of the practice's patrons.

It has been suggested that in 1887, a nephew of the Mawson brothers, Francis Mawson Rattenbury was articled to the firm at the age of twenty.<sup>(37)</sup> In fact Rattenbury was awarded second prize in the annual competition awarded to the pupils of architects by the Bradford Society of Architects and Surveyors in 1885, and so he must have joined the firm when he was eighteen or younger. He remained with the firm until 1892<sup>(38)</sup> and his name appears on the drawings for the Cleckheaton Town Hall published in the *Architect* in that year.<sup>(39)</sup> Rattenbury was apparently a great entrepreneur, and he left Yorkshire for Canada in 1892 where he became one of the most successful architects of his generation. He was responsible for the designs of the Parliament Buildings in British Columbia, a competition he won within months of arriving in the country,<sup>(40)</sup> and went on to design a range of public and commercial buildings in the province. He established a particular reputation for large hotels. Just as Heathcote presumably learnt much about designing large industrial concerns whilst with the firm, Rattenbury would have learnt much from his uncles' experiences of designing hotels and public buildings in the 1860s and '70s. Many of Rattenbury's Canadian hotels adopted but adapted the 'Second Empire' style of Lockwood and Mawson's hotels and developed them into a hybrid style which mixed Scottish Baronial and French Chateau architecture. This style became very much the 'Canadian' style used for many of the public buildings particularly in British Columbia.<sup>(41)</sup> Rattenbury was a headstrong and controversial figure not averse to arguing with those commissioning his work. He died in appropriately controversial circumstances back in England in 1935, murdered by his wife and chauffeur.<sup>(42)</sup>

## THE NAME OF THE PRACTICE

The practice was generally known from 1850 until Lockwood's death in 1878 simply as 'Lockwood and Mawson'. Their plans after 1856 were however sometimes signed Lockwood, Mawson and Mawson after Richard Mawson became a partner, though this label does not appear to have been consistently used. Even plans from the same year have

sometimes one, sometimes both Mawsons listed. It is possible that the second Mawson was only used when Richard had been responsible for much of the design work. After Lockwood's death, the practice was usually referred to as W. & R. Mawson until the elder brother's retirement in 1886, when the partnership between the younger Mawson and Robert Hudson saw the name change not surprisingly to Mawson and Hudson. This name seems to have persisted even after Richard Mawson's death in 1904 until the firm ceased trading in around 1912.

## THE OFFICES

By the time that the Bradford Observer was reporting on the machinations of the Bradford Workhouse competition in the first months of 1850, Lockwood and Mawson had moved to Bradford.<sup>(43)</sup> It is difficult today to fathom the precise motivation to abandon a successful practice and risk all by moving to a new town with which neither partner seemingly had any links. The motivation can only have been ambition. Although Hull was developing quickly, Bradford was in comparison mushrooming in size. Astute businessmen like Lockwood and Mawson would quickly realise that the demand for new buildings would be phenomenal. The town also had good railway links and so the potential to bid for work in neighbouring towns would be much greater than in Hull. Obviously, William Mawson would know Bradford from his experience of working in Leeds. His former tutors may have placed a condition on his future employment to ensure that he did not work within the same town as them. Bradford was of course as close geographically as could be to Leeds, yet in its own right, the growth and demand for new buildings in Bradford would have been almost as great as in the larger town.

Lockwood and Mawson appear to have established their first office in Bradford at 43 Kirkgate as this address appears on the advertisement for a pupil in January 1850.<sup>(44)</sup> This was right in the heart of the town though by 1863 they appear to have moved to another centrally placed office in Post Office Buildings (possibly 32 Kirkgate).<sup>(45)</sup> By 1870 they were based at 2 Exchange Buildings where the practice remained until it ceased trading some time after 1912.<sup>(46)</sup>



From the early 1860s, the practice (by then often known as Lockwood, Mawson and Mawson) had a second office in London. The Directory of British Architects notes that in 1868 they operated from an office at 10 Lincoln's Inn Fields in the capital,<sup>(47)</sup> and they retained occupancy of the same office two years later when they submitted some of their drawings for the Bradford Town Hall to the Royal Academy.<sup>(48)</sup> An office in London was clearly established earlier in the 1860s however, as the plans for the South Cliff Congregational Church in Scarborough submitted in 1864 are signed 'Lockwood and Mawson, Architects; Bradford and London'.<sup>(49)</sup> In the previous year, their successful designs for a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Kensington's Warwick Gardens also had the 'Bradford and London' tag. The success in this competition may have provided something of a springboard to their careers and encouraged them to establish a base in the capital. Certainly by the mid 1860s they were very active in London with drawings for the Inns of Court Hotel under preparation and entries for the competitions to design both the St Pancras Hotel and the Law Courts submitted in 1865 and 1866 respectively. Lockwood appears to have been the major force behind the designs of these buildings (particularly the Law Courts) and it seems that he was (notionally at least) in charge of the London office.

Lockwood seems to have been happy to work in the capital. Unlike the Mawsons, his ties with Bradford were not so strong; he had no wife and his family were from Doncaster rather than the West Riding. It is possible that Lockwood may have renewed his friendship with Thomas Allom as Allom was the draughtsman for George Gilbert Scott in his submission for the Law Courts competition, which Lockwood also entered.

It is possible that the practice retained an office in the capital from much earlier however as they had been involved with the design of buildings in the capital as early as 1856. The firm was one of 89 entrants for the design of a new infantry barracks, the drawings for which were displayed in the House of Commons.<sup>(50)</sup> Lockwood and Mawson's design was placed second behind that of George Morgan<sup>(51)</sup> and they were awarded the second premium of £100.<sup>(52)</sup> It seems probable that the Government was so impressed with the practice's designs (and probably their reputation following the completion of the works at Saltaire) that they asked them to design a new rifle factory at Enfield Lock which was also built in 1856.<sup>(53)</sup>

If an office in London did operate from the mid 1850s it seems unlikely, given the workload back in West Yorkshire, that this was permanently manned. By 1874 however, Lockwood had moved permanently to the capital presumably because of a shortage of work back in Yorkshire. This gives some idea of the size of the practice if it could manage offices 200 miles apart. By the 1870s, the practice was certainly much more than just its founding partners, as evidenced by the fact that William Mawson was able to take a year's 'sabbatical' in 1868<sup>(54)</sup> when he undertook his own version of the Grand Tour.

It is possible that an office was established in Leeds during the boom years of the 1860s as a report in *Building News* in 1861 referred to the practice as Lockwood, Mawson and Mawson of Leeds and Bradford.<sup>(55)</sup> If such an office did open it must have been short-lived as plans from the following year make no mention of a base in Leeds.



## CHAPTER 3: PATRONAGE

### INTRODUCTION

Whilst practising alone in Hull, Lockwood had enjoyed the patronage of a few different clients who, although small in number and type, ensured the success of his practice. Even after the forming of the partnership with William Mawson, the success of the firm would still depend on the patronage of a number of groups and bodies, though the patrons would be in complete contrast to those of the early part of his career.

Lockwood in Hull relied on the support of owners of large country houses for part of his success. As such, this was a characteristic of the pre-Victorian era, and one which architects such as Lockwood's former tutor P.F. Robinson were quick to cultivate. Such commissions would continue in the more rural parts of the country throughout Victoria's reign, but in rapidly industrialising West Yorkshire there were few such commissions. Although Lockwood and Mawson did carry out alterations to the houses of Titus Salt, and built a handful of large private houses for rich industrialists, they were not of the same character as the on-going works carried out by Lockwood whilst 'retained' by the 'old money' aristocracy of the East Riding. In Bradford although they were patronised by the wealthy and influential local figures, these figures were the *nouveau-riche* businessmen, Liberal in politics and Nonconformist in religion.

These men were important not only because they commissioned the architects to design buildings for themselves, but because they were highly influential in the development of towns such as Bradford and Halifax. These men sat on the Committees which made decisions about new buildings, and in an era when 'the erection of vast halls and exchanges, continuing and increasing in the 1850s and '60s, was soon to be as symbolic of the cultural rivalry between the various nineteenth century British cities as cathedral building had been in the Middle Ages'<sup>(1)</sup> having such men on his side would be extremely beneficial to an architect's career prospects.

Lockwood's patronage by the Anglican Church rather than the local Nonconformists in Hull was in total contrast to the position in Bradford where the practice built almost exclusively for the Dissenting Churches, and particularly for Lockwood's own Congregationalists. The pre-eminent businessmen in Bradford were also members of the Congregational Church, and this led to commissions in Bradford, in the resorts in which they holidayed, and consequently because of the quality of their work, they became the architects for the Congregational Church.

## **PATRONAGE BY NONCONFORMIST CHURCH BODIES**

The Bradford to which Lockwood and Mawson moved in the mid-nineteenth century had changed beyond recognition during the first half of the century as its population rose from just 13,264 in 1801 to 103,778 by 1851.<sup>(2)</sup> The change was not restricted to the size of the town however as its social, political and religious make-up was also undergoing a fundamental transformation. The power of the Anglican Tories associated in the town with the iron and coal industries and banking was threatened by the new breed of Liberal Nonconformist textile entrepreneurs. Such men not only demanded high quality buildings to advertise their businesses, but they wanted stylish civic buildings and churches which reflected their new-found status in society. As the *Bradford Review* noted in 1867 'architects have at last recognised that piety and plainness do not necessarily go together...a new era of chapel building and that time of the "Rehoboths" built in the nearest possible resemblance to a factory has...passed away'.<sup>(3)</sup>

Bradford had been a hot-bed of dissent since the eighteenth century when the Methodists erected their prestigious octagon chapel in 1760, perhaps the most important building of any Nonconformist Faith before the mid-nineteenth century. The Methodists worked, to some extent, in a spirit of cooperation with the Anglicans in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. However, as the town grew, it became clear that the Methodists were much better able to cope with socio-economic change than the Established Church which 'moved slowly, massively and ponderously, a dinosaur among smaller, livelier mammals'.<sup>(4)</sup> Consequently, by the mid-point of the century, not just the Methodists, but the Congregationalists and



Baptists all outstripped the Anglicans in church building, and when the Anglicans did react, this led to 'turf wars' of church and chapel building from which Lockwood and Mawson were handily placed to benefit.

The support of the Nonconformist religions does not seem to have been immediate on Lockwood and Mawson's arrival from Hull, and their first ecclesiastical commission in the town was in fact for the Anglicans. This was a similar type of commission to that which Lockwood had enjoyed in his solo career and involved the restoration of the Norman Church of St Oswald in Guiseley (40) between Bradford and Leeds.<sup>(5)</sup> This was in 1850, but within a year they had won a commission to design a new school for the Independent Congregationalists at Lister Hills on the western edge of Bradford (42). This building was an off-shoot of the Horton Lane Independent Congregational Church which counted amongst its members the most influential men in Bradford. Such early commissions as the St George's Hall (46, iv), the Bradford Workhouse (35, xciv), the Lister Hills School and the commission to design the mill at Saltaire (44, xxxix, xl) were all virtually contemporary and involved, in one way or another, the same group of highly influential men. The first three years of their practice in Bradford therefore clearly laid substantial foundations for the rest of the careers of Lockwood and Mawson.

Despite their apparent immediate success with the members of the congregation, the church bodies were rather slower to commission the architects to design their new buildings, and when they did, the first churches which Lockwood and Mawson designed were small. In fact the first church, rather than being for the Congregationalists, was for the evangelical Wesleyan Reform Movement (53).<sup>(6)</sup> However in the same year (1855), they were invited to design a small new chapel for the Congregationalists in Stanningley (55), an early exercise in the Gothic style not normally favoured by the Nonconformists. Two years later came a much more traditional and prestigious building, again outside Bradford, in neighbouring Cleckheaton (61, lxvi). This was a lavish adaptation of the templar form which Lockwood had used to great effect in Hull and was clearly designed to demonstrate the power and influence of the church and its worshippers.

The Cleckheaton Chapel was completed in 1859, and in the same year the architects completed their most lavish church for their staunchest patron when they designed the Congregational Church in Saltaire for Titus Salt (67, xliv). Salt, though he rarely worshipped at the church, donated the entire £16,000 for the foundation of the building which he wished to be the centrepiece of his model village. Perhaps not surprisingly, with few budgetary constraints and with a brief which presumably demanded a church of great presence, Lockwood and Mawson produced a building which has rightly been described as 'one of the finest of all Victorian chapels'.<sup>(7)</sup>

Salt would later be instrumental in the foundation of two other Congregational Churches which Lockwood and Mawson were to design. The first of these was in the fashionable resort of Scarborough where Salt holidayed (91, lxxiii, lxxiv). He gave a generous sum towards the building of the church and the grateful first minister, the Reverend Baggallay, would ultimately be the biographer of Salt after his death. Three years later in 1870, Salt and his family again gave generously towards the founding of a new Congregational Church at Lightcliffe opposite Crow Nest House (115, lxxv), the family home. The site for the new church was in fact purchased by Salt's friend John Crossley, a man who was instrumental in the redevelopment of Halifax and who also favoured Lockwood and Mawson with commissions throughout their careers. Both the Scarborough and Lightcliffe churches were virtually identical and built in a solid and accomplished late thirteenth century Gothic rather than the Classical designs of the earlier foundations for the Congregationalists. The use of such a style demonstrates the increasing popularity of Gothic forms for Nonconformist churches in the second half of the century as a desire to appear fashionable outweighed the tarnish of the association of Gothic styles with the Anglican Church which had discouraged its use amongst all but the most self-assured Dissenters earlier in the century.

In between these commissions with which Titus Salt was inextricably linked, Lockwood and Mawson were also chosen from thirteen competitors to rebuild the Horton Lane Congregational Church (71, lxvii). This church was dubbed 'Bradford's Cathedral of Nonconformity',<sup>(8)</sup> and amongst its members were the men (including Salt) who were instrumental in the development of Bradford in the second half of the century. The original



chapel was built in 1784, but by 1860 was considered no longer adequate to 'express the pride and self-confidence of Nonconformists who were...the dominant figures in local industry and politics'.<sup>(9)</sup> The building, although not one of Lockwood and Mawson's more accomplished designs, was clearly intended to make a substantial architectural statement to the rest of the town and incorporated all the most fashionable French and Flemish architectural motifs in its facade.

The remaining chapels designed by Lockwood and Mawson for the Congregationalists were all outside Bradford, seemingly indicating that by the 1860s, the architects' reputation for designing accomplished chapels capable of making a suitably forceful statement of the prestige of the congregation had spread beyond Bradford. The first of these was the Victoria Avenue Congregational Church in Harrogate (77, lxii). This was Gothic in style and appears to have made something of an impact in the town, as in the same year, the architects also designed a new Methodist Church on the town's Oxford Street (78, lxx) and created new transepts and a chancel for the principal Anglican edifice, the Christ Church (76).

In 1874, the Congregational Church of St Mary in the Wood at Morley (131, lxxvi) was rebuilt to the designs of Lockwood and Mawson. Architecturally this followed the Gothic designs at Scarborough and Lightcliffe with an asymmetrical west tower. The Bradford connection was never far away as the Bradford Alderman James Law laid the foundation stone for the building.<sup>(10)</sup>

In the same year however came the most telling evidence of the prestige which Lockwood and Mawson enjoyed amongst the Congregational Church when they were commissioned to build the Congregational City Temple in Holborn, London (130, lxviii). The church, which cost (excluding the site) almost £26,500 to build, was designed for the popular minister Dr Parker who required a building capable of housing 2,500 worshippers.<sup>(11)</sup> The building was a 'super-chapel', internally more like a music hall or theatre with its horseshoe-shaped raked auditorium and clear views of the pulpit from every seat. The City Temple was clearly intended to be the most important Congregational Church in the country and fittingly it would be the last Congregational Church which the practice designed although they did build

a Sunday School for the Saltaire Congregationalists in 1876 (137, ii).

Whilst Lockwood and Mawson appear to have been very much the favoured architects of the Congregationalists around Bradford and later elsewhere, they did also design a number of buildings for other Nonconformist Churches. Some of these appear to have come about because they were designing Congregational Churches nearby. The commission for the Oxford Road Methodist Church in Harrogate (78, lxx) was won in competition whilst building the Victoria Avenue Congregational Church (77, lxxii). The Harrogate Methodists were clearly less wealthy and influential than the Congregationalists, and the Oxford Road Chapel is a rather 'off-the peg' templar form rather than the more up-to-date and lavish Gothic building for the Congregationalists. The Methodist Church was built within a budget of £3,500 <sup>(12)</sup> (compared with over £16,000 at Saltaire three years earlier) yet had to be capable of seating 1000 worshippers. Despite such tight constraints, the facade is well proportioned and makes a bold statement in the street with its Giant Order of Corinthian columns.

The commission to design their first Baptist Church, on Scarborough's Albemarle Crescent (100, lxxvii), also seems to have come about because of their nearby work for the Congregationalists on Ramshill Road (91, lxxiii, lxxiv). Unlike in Harrogate, where the Methodists were obviously under tight financial constraints, Albemarle Crescent was a fashionable area of the developing holiday resort. The Baptists were therefore clearly anxious that their new church, which would be the centrepiece of the Crescent, should be a suitable advertisement for their faith. Consequently, the Gothic building, albeit on quite a restricted site was described as 'greatly admired, and regarded as an ornament to the town'<sup>(13)</sup> by the *Scarborough Gazette*.

Outside Bradford, many of Lockwood and Mawson's other chapels for Nonconformist Faiths appear to have been won in competition. *The Builder* reported that the architects had been successful in the competition to design a new Wesleyan Chapel at Snaith (72) in 1861,<sup>(14)</sup> and in the following year, despite the journal announcing Paull and Ayliffe as the winners of the competition for a new Baptist Chapel on Woodhouse Lane in Leeds (79),<sup>(15)</sup> Lockwood and



Mawson wrote in to explain how they had taken the first premium of £20<sup>(16)</sup>, though they were not the architects of the built design.

In 1863, Lockwood and Mawson designed their first church in the capital when they won the competition for the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Warwick Gardens (81, lxxi). The church was built as part of the Wesleyans' drive to 'plant chapels in respectable localities',<sup>(17)</sup> and was won, not uncommonly for Lockwood and Mawson, after they had provided a better and cheaper design than that produced by Searle, Son and Yelf who had initially procured tenders.<sup>(18)</sup>

With the exception of an unsuccessful competition entry for the design of a Baptist Church on Glossop Road in Sheffield (110) in 1869,<sup>(19)</sup> the remaining Nonconformist Churches designed by Lockwood and Mawson would be in and around Bradford. The Methodist Church in Saltaire (98) was built in 1866 after the raising of subscriptions totalling £5400 had been raised (Salt donated the land).<sup>(20)</sup> Much more lavish was the Sion Baptist Church on Harris Street in Bradford (127, lxxix) built at a cost of £23,000 in 1873<sup>(21)</sup> and won in a limited competition against Andrews, Son and Pepper. In total contrast was the more chaste Friends' Meeting House of 1877 (142), built on Bradford's Fountain Street which was, unusually for Lockwood and Mawson, a very restrained temple form to reflect the unostentatious nature of the Society of Friends.

Lockwood and Mawson were clearly favoured architects by the Congregationalists whose highly influential members would also champion their designs for private and public buildings in and around Bradford. The quality of their buildings however clearly acted as a considerable advertisement for their talents and led to commissions outside the town. The different branches of the Dissenting Church were generally well-disposed towards each other and it seems that Lockwood and Mawson felt free to design for other Nonconformist Faiths, though such commissions were won on merit rather than due to the influence of any particular patrons. The good feeling between the different Nonconformist Churches does not appear to have spread to the Anglicans however, who were in many ways the opponents of Lockwood and Mawson's chief supporters in both religious and political terms. Whilst in

Bradford, the architects were very restricted in their works for the Anglican Church once they had restored St Oswald's Church in Guiseley within months of their arrival in Bradford. It is interesting to speculate whether the architects felt it tactful not to work for the Established Church, or if they were placed under any kind of professional pressure to restrict their commissions in the town to those supported by the Liberal Nonconformists.

The only real exceptions to this rule were the building of St Thomas' Church in the poor Longlands area of Bradford (70) to seat 750 which was built at a cost of only £2300 in 1860,<sup>(22)</sup> and after the death of Lockwood the new Christ Church on Eldon Square in Bradford in 1879 (156). Other Church of England commissions were limited to the alterations to the Christ Church in Harrogate (76) and St Stephen's, Cambridge Park, Twickenham (132) by Lockwood after he moved to London. The architects presumably did not feel under the same constraints out of town as they did in Bradford. Otherwise, although they erected twin Anglican and Nonconformist Mortuary Chapels at Undercliffe Cemetery (150), this was clearly a commercial rather than religious commission for the joint-stock Bradford Cemetery Company amongst whose shareholders were many of the town's most influential men.

## **THE POWER OF THE LIBERAL INDUSTRIALISTS**

The commissions which Lockwood and Mawson enjoyed from the Congregational Church were dependent, to a large extent in the early years of the practice, on the power of the men who comprised the congregation. These were the *nouveau riche* businessmen of the town, the majority of whom had made their fortunes in the developing worsted industry (or trades which serviced it) and were inevitably Liberal in politics. So influential were men such as Titus Salt, Samuel Smith, Henry Forbes, Robert Milligan and William Forster, that their power did not restrict itself to their own private concerns, but influenced the development of the religious and civic character of the town. In Lockwood and Mawson, such men clearly saw an architectural firm which was capable of building the type of town in which they wanted to live, and they were prepared to use their power to commission buildings, and influence the decisions on competitions for the design of new public buildings.



Lockwood and Mawson seem to have quickly cultivated a relationship with the 'city fathers' on their arrival in the town. The religious and political convictions of the two partners and possibly Mawson's Masonic tendencies<sup>(23)</sup> would have made them highly palatable amongst the like-minded industrialists. Clearly, both the architects and business community saw sound commercial sense in working together, as became clear as the relationship between Titus Salt and particularly Lockwood developed. The competition for the design of the Bradford Union workhouse, after which Lockwood and Mawson's design was built despite Atkinson of York being awarded first premium, indicates their ability to develop a relationship with the men of power almost as soon as they had arrived in the town. This success was due to Lockwood's clever 'clarification' of his plan to show how the Poor Law Inspector had misunderstood how easily the building could be extended if necessary. By demonstrating this and offering to construct the building for £6000 (£2000 less than Atkinson's plan) or forfeit his commission,<sup>(24)</sup> Lockwood instantly gained the support of the majority of the Board, one of whom was the educational reformer William Forster who was quick to support Lockwood in the acrimonious debate which took place.<sup>(25)</sup>

Lockwood's willingness to impress 'in his first essay',<sup>(26)</sup> his initiative and his financial gestures (undoubtedly calculated and devised by William Mawson) seem to have quickly endeared Lockwood to men such as Forster and the Liberal Alderman Joseph Smith who was also a supportive member of the Workhouse Board. When the competition for the design of a new public hall was held in 1851 (46, iv), an initiative promoted by the Liberals and strongly backed by the Liberal-minded *Bradford Observer* newspaper, Lockwood and Mawson would be the successful competitors. The venture was the brainchild of Samuel Smith, supported by Titus Salt and Robert Milligan who were fellow wool-magnates. Cunningham speculates that the need for a public hall was first voiced at a meeting of the Infirmary Trustees<sup>(27)</sup> clearly establishing a link between the Liberals on the Workhouse Board and the supporters of the new hall. This behind the scenes backing of Lockwood and Mawson is given further credence by a letter to *The Builder* suggesting that it was common knowledge two weeks before the announcement that Lockwood and Mawson were the winners of the competition, and that it had taken the Hall Committee only three hours to choose from the twenty-one schemes submitted.<sup>(28)</sup>

This pattern of success in competitions for the design of civic buildings in Bradford would last until Lockwood's death in 1878. In that time they would lose only one relatively minor architectural competition in the town. In over a quarter of a century, they were virtually given a free rein to dictate the architectural character of the city, culminating in Lockwood being retained by the Corporation as an adviser on street architecture in the 1870s. Obviously in cultivating the Liberal Nonconformists, they alienated themselves from the 'old money', the Anglican Tories, who were not without influence themselves. This came to a head in the Bradford Exchange Competition in 1864 (85, lvi-lviii) when Aldam Heaton, leading a campaign for a Gothic building, invited John Ruskin to address the Bradford public and championed the brightest young Gothicists to design the structure. Ultimately however, Lockwood and Mawson would outwit the Anglican Tories, whose behind the scenes manoeuvring antagonised many of their would-be supporters. The intrigues of such competitions will be considered in greater depth in the following chapter.

Lockwood and Mawson were supported seemingly from their arrival in Bradford until at least the mid 1870s by the most influential men in the town. Not surprisingly therefore they were chosen as the architects for the two clubs which such men would frequent, the Union Club (144) and the Liberal Club (143, cix) both built in 1877. Although they undoubtedly enjoyed the backing of Liberals such as W.E. Forster, Samuel and Joseph Smith, Robert Milligan and Henry Brown to name but a few, one man stands out as the principal supporter of the practice: Titus Salt.

## **THE IMPORTANCE OF TITUS SALT**

Titus Salt was represented by contemporary writers as the epitome of the enlightened and philanthropic face of Victorian capitalism.<sup>(29)</sup> In Bradford he was virtually beyond reproach, in stark contrast to some of his peers. In addition to his entrepreneurial flair, Salt was of course a great philanthropist. This manifested itself not just in the model village of Saltaire but in his support of a variety of institutions and activities which he felt would expand the minds and moral well-being of the population. Whilst Mayor of the town in 1849, he had instigated a committee to investigate 'The Moral Condition of Bradford'. It found that



intemperance, promiscuity, ignorance and lack of religious observance were rife, and it hinted that such sins were not necessarily confined to the lower orders.<sup>(30)</sup>

Salt was one of the leading supporters of Samuel Smith's proposal for a public hall (ultimately designed by Lockwood and Mawson) which was intended to provide a drink-free environment for the population to enjoy mind-expanding entertainments and music.<sup>(31)</sup> By the late 1840s he was one of the most important of the 'City Fathers'. He occupied every local public office with the exception of Poor Law Guardian and was Constable of the Manor from 1841-2; from 1847-54 senior alderman in the new Bradford Corporation, and from 1848-9 the Mayor.<sup>(32)</sup> He sat on the bench in the Bradford Court and was president of the Chamber of Commerce before becoming a Member of Parliament in 1859, keeping his seat for two years.

First and foremost however, Salt was a businessman. The Salt family had come to Bradford in 1822 when Titus was nineteen. By then he had served a disappointing two years' apprenticeship with a Wakefield woolstapler. Once in Bradford, he continued his apprenticeship with William Rouse and Sons and this gave him a much more comprehensive grounding in the trade. In 1824, he joined his father's woolstapling firm, leaving ten years later to set up on his own; the family business being officially dissolved in 1835.<sup>(33)</sup> Salt had a reputation for experimentation with different yarns, and it was his groundbreaking success with alpaca which largely made his fortune in the 1830s. His business began at Hollings Mill, in the Goitside area of Bradford, before he acquired other premises in Hope Street. In 1836 he took over a larger concern in Union Street and by 1850 he owned three additional mills.<sup>(34)</sup> He also employed an army of hand woolcombers who lived in the Manchester Road area and other weavers in the outlying villages of Allerton, Clayton and Baildon.<sup>(35)</sup> Salt realised that this was not the most efficient way of running his business and he was undoubtedly concerned at the quality of life in central Bradford. In 1850, he therefore decided to move his operations to a green-field site outside Bradford, where there was land enough to integrate all the processes involved in the production of worsted goods. This idea would develop into the model town of Saltaire, a project which Lockwood and Mawson saw through from conception until after Salt's death in December 1876. During this time they designed and built every

public building and house, surely one of the largest single projects undertaken by an architectural practice in the Victorian era.

### **The First Meeting With Titus Salt**

Lockwood and Mawson had been in Bradford for less than a year when Salt decided to pay a call to their offices in November 1850. Salt had obviously discussed his intention with his friend Henry Forbes,<sup>(36)</sup> a wool merchant of considerable standing, who, with his partner Robert Milligan, had built the first 'palace' warehouse in Bradford beside the Saint George's Hall. Forbes was kind enough to warn the architects of the impending interview with Salt.

Balgarnie, the biographer of Titus Salt (who was also the Minister of the South Cliff Congregational Church in Scarborough which Salt financed virtually single-handedly and Lockwood and Mawson built) recounts the meeting of architects and patron in some depth.<sup>(37)</sup> Apparently Salt made an appearance towards evening and sitting by the fire announced his intention to build a mill near Shipley. He warned the architects not expect to get all the work, as he had purchased the land with the help of another local architect, George Knowles. Lockwood, having thanked Salt, came quickly to the point and asked him how much he proposed to spend on the works. Salt replied probably '£30,000 or £40,000' and unfolded the plans he had in mind, pointing out one or two special features. He apparently made it very clear that the mill had to be the first building constructed, and asked Lockwood how long it would take him to have a pencil sketch ready. Lockwood agreed to have the preliminary plans ready for the following Wednesday.<sup>(38)</sup>

Salt apparently returned as agreed and was shown the sketch. He carefully examined the drawing, shook his head and said 'That won't do at all'. Lockwood was not surprisingly taken aback and asked what Salt's objections to the plans were. Salt replied that the building was not 'half large enough'. Lockwood replied 'If that is the only objection, I can easily get over it; but do you know, Mr Salt, what this mill, which I have sketched will cost?' Salt asked how much and was told £100,000, to which he drily replied 'Oh, very likely'. Balgarnie reports that from this, Lockwood deduced that money would not be an issue



provided the work was carried out efficiently.<sup>(39)</sup>

Lockwood proceeded to draw up the plans and Salt apparently made various suggestions which the architect was happy to incorporate. Balgarnie notes that the major points on which Salt was anxious to contribute concerned 'ventilation, convenience and general comfort'. He continues 'Hitherto, manufactories had been built with little regard to such conditions, and as for the buildings themselves, there was a decided lack of architectural taste in them. But the manufactory now proposed was to be, externally, a symmetrical building, beautiful to look at, and, internally, complete with all the appliances that science and wealth could command.'<sup>(40)</sup>

Apparently Salt was happy with the designs furnished by Lockwood, but perhaps predictably for an astute Yorkshire businessman his first question was apparently 'How much?'. Lockwood responded that the cost would be the sum he had previously stated (£100,000) to which Salt inquired whether or not it could be done for less. Lockwood replied that if he wanted the mill to be as he had specified, then that would be the cost. Having asked the question Salt was obviously satisfied and ordered Lockwood to proceed as quickly as possible.<sup>(41)</sup>

This dialogue, one of the few snapshots of the rapport between the architects and Salt shows the foundation of the relationship which would develop over the next quarter of a century. Salt's trust in Lockwood clearly developed and they became great friends. Lockwood spoke in support of Salt when he stood as parliamentary candidate for the Borough, reassuring doubters that Salt's motivation in building Saltaire was philanthropic concern for his workers' welfare not because he wanted to leave Bradford.<sup>(42)</sup> Salt's faith in Lockwood is evidenced by Balgarnie's glowing tribute to the architect in his biography of the industrialist:

'Suffice it to say that he, too, is an example to young men, how the cultivation of talent, devotedness to professional duties, combined with tact and courtesy, can lead to eminence.'<sup>(43)</sup>

Perhaps the major testament to the faith which Salt placed in his architects was his decision to name streets in Saltaire after Lockwood and Mawson when all the other streets in the

village were named after members of his family apart from Victoria Road and Albert Road named after the queen and her consort.

Salt's warning not to expect to get all the work was of course unfounded. Lockwood and Mawson would build first the mill, followed by the housing (until all its phases were completed in 1876), and all the other buildings from churches to park shelters until after Salt's death. Salt was therefore a crucial patron, and Saltaire such a fundamental part of Lockwood and Mawson's work, that the building of the model town of Saltaire demands detailed consideration.

### **The Motivation behind Saltaire and its Historical Context**

The precise reasons why Titus Salt chose to build a model manufacturing town in the open countryside rather than retire at the age of fifty as he had originally planned will probably never be known. At the opening of the mill, he revealed that he had decided to embark on the building of Saltaire 'to leave something for the boys to do'.<sup>(44)</sup> As his roots were in industry, he felt at home amongst its concerns and intrigues, and he was unsure that he could fit in with the life of the landed gentry which he had contemplated on retirement.

Reynolds describes the building of Saltaire as 'Salt's personal response to the pressures urging peace and stability between capital and labour that emerged in the aftermath of Chartism'.<sup>(45)</sup> Certainly the anarchy of Chartism had frightened the upper echelons of society in the industrial towns. It enjoyed strong support in Bradford in the 1830s culminating in an abortive rising in January 1840. In 1848, Bradford was the centre of 'physical force' Chartism, but by the early 1850s, this militancy had been replaced by apathy largely because of improvements in the economy.

One of the main threads of the Chartist argument was that the working man was ultimately 'respectable' as he worked to produce the wealth of society. Salt clearly had some sympathy with this viewpoint though like most of his peers he did not condone the violence of the 'physical force' arm of the movement. During Salt's various political offices, and



particularly whilst serving as Mayor, he had been shocked by the conditions in Bradford. His response included a number of donations and benefactions to the most needy in society, though he also strove to improve the lot of the ordinary citizen by more practical measures such as the building of the Saint George's Hall. Salt had also carried out experiments on the consumption of smoke, and devised methods of reducing emissions from factory chimneys in an attempt to improve the atmosphere of the town. Whether this was purely a concern for the environment or was partly political is hard to ascertain. However, much to Salt's displeasure, the Council refused to adopt his ideas on the grounds of trivial expense.<sup>(46)</sup> Such inertia (or self interest) on the part of the Councillors would only reinforce the view of the workers (and Tories) who were always quick to point out the hypocrisy of the Liberals who spoke of their concern for ordinary citizens yet exploited them in their factories and left their towns in such a disgraceful condition whilst accumulating immense personal fortunes.

Once the physical threat of Chartism had died down, the more enlightened citizens were able to look at the reasons behind the discontent. The *Bradford Observer* produced an impassioned plea in 1850 to the 'millocrats' which urged 'Let the poor be extricated from dark damp noisome courts and closes ... suffer them to obtain a view of the sky from their dwellings ... supply them with plenty of wholesome water for drinking and purposes of cleanliness ... afford them facilities for the speedy removal of ashes, garbage and all offensive matter.'<sup>(47)</sup> Salt clearly took up the pledge in the building of Saltaire.

Yet the building of Saltaire was not purely an act of philanthropy. The fact that Salt demanded that Lockwood and Mawson design the mill first is a clue that this was also a shrewd business move. As a Liberal, Salt expected prosperity to flow from the establishment of free trade and he wanted to be ready for expansion.<sup>(48)</sup> Developments in wool-combing machinery meant that Salt could consider total factory production as in such a gigantic mill Salt would be able to bring all the processes spread throughout his six Bradford mills, and the homes of his hundreds of outworkers into one place. This would clearly enable him to benefit from huge economies of scale, but nowhere in Bradford was there a site capable of accommodating such a complex. The site of Saltaire had an ample supply of water from the River Aire, and had perfect transport links being immediately adjacent to the Midland



Railway line and Leeds to Liverpool Canal. A more convenient site would have been virtually impossible to find anywhere in the north of England.

Reynolds states that Salt's contemporaries saw Saltaire as 'a highly successful attempt to harmonise the interest of Capital and Labour'<sup>(49)</sup> and quotes an article in *The Builder* in August 1870 which looked at the 'Organisation of Labour'. This highlighted the dangers of a growing working class developing in isolation from society and the state. It eulogised about Saltaire considering the town 'an industrial organisation which is working a great social change' and one playing its part in the 'conciliation of the working classes'.<sup>(50)</sup>

John Ruskin saw Salt's motives more as subjugation of the working classes rather than conciliation. Hardman points to the conclusion of 'Traffic' and its evocation of Saltaire with its model mill and equally 'model' workers.<sup>(51)</sup>

'They were always wishing for their money's worth and what was that?... The perfect type of humanity involved the perfection of his body, affections and intelligence. It was the object of true political economy to accumulate for use those things which served to sustain the body, exercise the affections, or to form the intelligence. Whatever served any of these purposes was useful to man; whatever served none of those purposes, and much more what served to counteract them, was in like manner unlawful and unholy. Now, he came to tell them that their ideal line of life was a false one, for whilst to one family their goddess was the goddess of getting on, to thousands she was the goddess of stopping. In fact, whatever word they liked to use, she was the goddess of slavery. The subdued person came into the form and position of a slave. They were perpetually crying out, and sacrificing their strength to do away with slavery away from them, but they were forgetting the slavery at home.'<sup>(52)</sup>

During his speech at the opening of the Mill, Salt gave no evidence that his venture was in any way authoritarian in nature more that he was reluctant to add to the dirt and confusion of Bradford, and wanted to see a happy and contented people behind him. To achieve this however, Salt certainly intended to impose discipline on the lives of his workers. This ranged from the lack of a public house in the village to the strict rules of the park. More subliminally, it imposed discipline in the use of space.

Saltaire must be placed within its historic context. The nineteenth century saw the development of an Evangelical Conscience which quickly recognised the squalid housing



conditions in the industrial towns. The Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes founded in 1825 included amongst its aims the building of model dwellings to show that healthy living and affordable rents need not be mutually exclusive. In 1851 the Society's designs for Model Houses for Families won the Council Medal at the Great Exhibition and attracted the support of Prince Albert.<sup>(53)</sup>

Estate villages outside the parklands of large country houses had been common throughout the eighteenth century and provided homes for workers on the large estates. Industrialists had also seen the benefit of providing 'on site' housing when their industrial complexes were away from the major population centres, and Cromford in Derbyshire in the 1770s and Styal in Cheshire in 1820 developed in this way. New Lanark, developed by David Dale in 1784 and expanded by Robert Owen in the nineteenth century went further with its tenement blocks, and 'Institute for the Formation of Character' with its authoritarian overtones.

By the 1840s philanthropic entrepreneurs were clearly seeing the benefits of constructing villages to house their mill or railway workers as the economy changed from one dominated by agriculture to a more industrial society. Benjamin Disraeli's book 'Sybil' suggested that the relationship between employer and worker should be more than the payment and receipt of wages in his story of a northern industrialist who establishes a model village. The idea was clearly taken up by Salt, and he could draw on earlier models such as the 'park gate' village of Harewood and the Moravians' model settlement at Fulneck near Pudsey, which was begun in 1744, for inspiration.

In fact Salt was not the first West Yorkshire 'millocrat' to consider erecting a settlement to house his workers in more healthy and pleasant surroundings than the industrialising towns. Colonel Edward Akroyd built Copley at Halifax for such reasons between 1847 and 1853. Here he provided allotments, a Sunday school and library, church and workers' canteen and apparently consciously attempted to give the village the character of nearby older settlements whilst harmonising with its attractive site.<sup>(54)</sup> Clearly there are direct parallels with Saltaire, but Salt's village went much further both in terms of its size and facilities and the social mechanisms which it attempted. It also made sound economic sense; the depression of the

1830s and '40s was over, there were clear benefits in housing all the manufacturing processes of the worsted industry under one roof, yet these demanded huge quantities of water, which the polluted Bradford Beck could not provide. The site of Saltaire was adjacent to the river for water, the canal and railway for transportation and was capable of accommodating the size of concern which Salt wanted Lockwood and Mawson to provide for him.

A principal motivation for Salt in building Saltaire was undoubtedly to make money. What made Salt different from his peers in Bradford was his desire not to do this at the expense of his workers and the quality of their living conditions. Ruskin's charge that Salt attempted to subjugate his workers seems in retrospect extremely harsh. Salt after all need not have provided housing above the bye-law standard, nor did he need to provide such extensive facilities including almshouses for former workers, hospital and dispensary and the Institute and park. Salt gave the workers the opportunity to expand their minds, and in providing different types of housing (based on a study of the requirements of his employees) for different classes of worker, he arguably gave his employees something to strive for.

The impact of Saltaire was great. Articles appeared in almost all the contemporary journals of the day. Lord Palmerston visited after laying the foundation stone for the Wool Exchange in 1864, the Prime Minister of New Zealand visited in 1876 and both the Burmese and Japanese ambassadors went to Saltaire in 1872.. The British Association for the Advancement of Social Science visited in 1859, and the British Association included a trip on their meeting in Bradford in 1874. In fact 'a visit there became an obligatory part of the itinerary of any well-known public figure who came to Bradford.'<sup>(55)</sup>

### **Lockwood and Mawson's Buildings in Saltaire**

Lockwood and Mawson's involvement at Saltaire lasted in excess of twenty five years. It formed a constant thread of work throughout the most buoyant period in Bradford's history. The chronology of the buildings gives an idea of the periods of greatest activity for the architects.



Of course, the mill came first (44, xxxix, xl). In their task of designing one of the biggest manufactories of the era, Lockwood and Mawson were assisted by the premier engineer of the day, William Fairbairn. Salt clearly already had a high regard for Lockwood, as in 1851 the two travelled to London to view the Crystal Palace which was up for sale.<sup>(56)</sup> Salt felt that part of the building might be capable of adaptation to a weaving shed, and he took Lockwood (interestingly rather than Fairbairn) for an opinion. Whilst the structure would have enjoyed space, light and adequate ventilation, it was felt too flimsy to cope with the strain of the heavy machinery, so the idea was dropped and Lockwood designed the necessary buildings as part of the mill complex. The immense T-shaped building which the architects designed was twenty five bays long in its principal elevation. However, the bays themselves were far greater in dimension than those found in earlier and contemporary mills.

The building was described in awestruck terms by *The Builder* which reported on the construction of an 'Immense Alpaca Manufactory near Bradford' which had exhausted twenty nearby quarries in its erection. 'It... is constructed of massive stonework in the boldest style of Italian architecture. The walls look more like those of a fortified town than of a building destined to the peaceful pursuits of commerce'.<sup>(57)</sup>

Not surprisingly, the mill was not completed until the spring of 1853, and opened formally on Salt's fiftieth birthday in the September. Lockwood, who together with Fairbairn and Salt himself had decided on the name for the town, had clearly become a trusted friend of the industrialist as the architect was entrusted to go personally to Harewood to invite the Earl of Harewood, the Lord Chief Justice of the County, to the opening.

When the mill began production in 1853, 3000 workers had to be brought in by special train each day. The housing would therefore be the next priority. Whilst the architects had been ensuring the completion of the mill within such a short timescale, they were simultaneously developing the master plan for the village itself. *The Builder* reported in 1852 on the facilities of the village;

'Wide streets, spacious squares, with gardens attached, ground for recreation, a large dining-hall and kitchens, baths and washhouses, a covered market, schools and a

church; each combining every improvement that modern art and science has brought to light, are ordered to be proceeded with by the gentleman who has originated this undertaking. The expense has been set down at half-a-million of money...'<sup>(58)</sup>

The first phase of housing (45, xli-xliii), in twelve parallel streets running at right angles from a wider road (Caroline Street) was completed by 1854 with 1000 people occupying the fourteen shops and 163 houses and boarding houses. Not surprisingly given the timescale, the houses were plain and mostly with two bedrooms. Phase two followed, with five streets of similar houses completed by 1857 (51).

The subsequent housing had improved facilities and more architectural pretension. It was also reorientated as Reynolds notes;

'Salt and his architects decided that the reputation of the firm, if nothing else, required a better image than that provided by the rather dour accommodation being offered to the workmen ... They were also laid parallel to Titus Street ... The village was now approaching the main roads to Leeds and Bradford, which ran in the same direction; the visual impact of pleasant houses running along the roadside was much better than one which would have been provided by a view of long and regular terraces stretching away down the hill.'<sup>(59)</sup>

By 1861, three bedroomed houses with arched windows were completed on Constance Street and Shirley Street (62, xli). This brought the population of Saltaire to 2510 in 447 occupied houses (another 34 houses had just been completed and were unoccupied).<sup>(60)</sup> Between 1866 and 1869 the housing was completed (99, xli, xliii) with more prestigious accommodation provided on Albert Road, three streets of workmen's and overlookers' housing off Bradford Road, a block on the east side of Victoria Street, a row of shops and houses along the Keighley Road and forty five almshouses with attractive Italianate detailing overlooking a landscaped square on Victoria Road (106, xlvi). By 1871, 824 houses and 40 shops had been built housing 4300 workers in just twenty-five acres.

Lockwood and Mawson were also responsible for the provision of public buildings within a strict order of priority laid down by Titus Salt. Given the need to transport huge numbers of workers in the early years, a railway station (59) was clearly a major priority, as was a large dining room (52) (which doubled up as church and school before purpose-made buildings



were erected). The dining room was built in 1854, and the station two years later. Salt's religious convictions meant that having represented Mammon in the shape of the mill, then God, in the shape of the church must be the next priority (67, xlv). Work began in 1856 and the building opened three years later. In 1866, work began on a Methodist Church (98) (Salt was not one to force his own religious feelings on his workers) and the building was opened in 1868, the same year that the school (105, xlv), the hospital (108) and almshouses and the new mill (107, xlvii) were all erected. In 1871, work began on the park (119, xlviii) and Lockwood and Mawson designed the tea rooms, bandstand and park shelters, and in the following year, the Institute (122, li, lii), a model of adult education provision was erected. The final building, the Congregational Sunday School (137, il), was built in 1876, though ten years later, to mark the tenth anniversary of Salt's death the 'Palace of Delight' (161, l) which included an extension of the art schools was built by the Mawson brothers.

### **Other Buildings for Titus Salt**

The number of buildings erected by Lockwood and Mawson at Saltaire over such a long period illustrates the importance of Titus Salt to their career. Yet this was not the extent of commissions from the successful industrialist. In 1853 (whilst completing the mill), Lockwood and Mawson were commissioned to design a palatial warehouse for Salt in central Bradford (49). The land had been purchased by Salt as part of a scheme to put Bradford on the cultural map,<sup>(61)</sup> and demonstrate that commercial and civic buildings could work hand in hand to revitalise the town centre. The building, along with the virtually contemporary Milligan and Forbes Warehouse, would raise the standard of commercial buildings throughout West Yorkshire and lead to a boom of *palazzo* warehouse construction.

Salt did not use Lockwood and Mawson solely for his business interests however as they also carried out works for Salt whilst he occupied Methley Hall from 1858-67 (66). Here they erected hothouses and a conservatory to indulge Salt's hobby of cultivating rare flowers and plants.<sup>(62)</sup> The architects were also chosen to design new Congregational churches opposite Crow Nest House (which Salt occupied after leaving Methley Hall) at Lightcliffe, and at Scarborough so that Salt could worship whilst holidaying. Lockwood and Mawson were

chosen as the architects for the monument to Salt erected outside the town hall in 1873 (128, cxix), and were also the architects of Salt's mausoleum attached to the Saltaire Congregational Church.

Titus Salt apparently donated £5000 towards the cost of a seamen's orphanage in Hull.<sup>(63)</sup> The building, which still survives, is in the plain Italianate style of much of the earlier housing at Saltaire and it is interesting to speculate, given Lockwood's links with the town if this too was built by Lockwood and Mawson

### **John Crossley**

Salt's friendship with the Halifax businessman John Crossley also led to commissions for Lockwood and Mawson. Crossley of course purchased the land at Lightcliffe on which Salt's new Congregational Church was built, but earlier he had used the architects for his scheme to redevelop the centre of Halifax where Crossley was one of the leading businessmen. As part of the redevelopment of the Northgate area which Crossley owned, Lockwood and Mawson designed the White Swan Hotel, the Halifax Joint Stock Bank, a range of warehouses and commercial buildings and the Mechanics Institute (probably the first such building in West Yorkshire with any architectural pretensions) all in an elaborate Italianate style (60, lii, liv). Crossley then offered to help the Council financially if it agreed to build a town hall on a central site deliberately left free for such a purpose. He furnished them with a design for an Italianate building topped by a dome produced by Lockwood and Mawson.<sup>(64)</sup> This was never built however as Crossley's adversary Edward Akroyd submitted a counter design by his 'pet' architect George Gilbert Scott<sup>(65)</sup> before the Council finally decided on a design by Charles Barry (1795-1860) who had been invited to comment and then to design the new building. This he did, commencing work in 1859, with the building completed, after his death the following year, by his son Edward Middleton Barry (1830-80).<sup>(66)</sup>



## CONCLUSIONS

The patronage by the Nonconformist (particularly Congregationalist) Churches and the support which they gained from the leading members of the congregation of such churches was fundamental to the careers of Lockwood and Mawson. The work in Saltaire, supplemented by commissions for the Nonconformists gave them a solid core of work into the 1870s. However the architectural and political climate from the middle of the 1870s was beginning to change. Their greatest supporter, Titus Salt, took little part in the political and commercial life of Bradford after 1874, and he died on 29 December 1876.<sup>(67)</sup> Similarly, many of their other traditional allies who had helped them gain some of their most important commissions in Bradford were also either dead or taking little part in the life of the town by the middle of the 1870s. Robert Milligan died in 1862, Edward Ripley in 1866, William Rand in 1868, Henry Forbes in 1870 and both Samuel Smith and John Rand in 1873; whilst Joshua Pollard, Joseph Farrar and Henry Brown were in semi-retirement by the 1870s. The only one of the younger Liberals still active who had been part of the 'great events of the past'<sup>(68)</sup> was W.E. Forster. His march to the cabinet office had, as a consequence, emphasised the split in the Liberal Party and significantly reduced its influence in the town. The patronage they enjoyed was in decline by the 1870s and was undoubtedly one of the reasons why Lockwood decided to work from London. The Mawson Brothers, and subsequently Mawson and Hudson had to battle for commissions in the much more competitive climate of the last quarter of the century and their architecture consequently never regained the impact of Lockwood and Mawson's work of the century's third quarter.

## CHAPTER 4: ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITIONS

### INTRODUCTION

The architectural competition to decide on the best design for a new building became an established part of the Victorian architectural scene. Competitions were normally originated by a Committee 'anxious to advance the image of their organisation or their town through the prestige of a new and imposing edifice'.<sup>(1)</sup> The Committee published instructions concerning the nature of the building, and generally publicised the competitions through such journals as *The Builder*. Often however the instructions were woefully inadequate (and were subsequently changed half way through the competition), were ambiguous, or in some cases were conflicting in their requirements. The instructions specified a date for the submission of schemes (often giving the architects very little time), and set out the prize which the premiated designs would enjoy.

For the Committee members, the competition scheme had a number of attractions. Individuals could remain anonymous and the often behind the scenes rivalries could be disguised behind the unified facade of the competition requirements and ultimately the decision. Competitions were also cheap, allowing the Committee to 'buy' a lot of ideas for the administration costs and the value of the premiums which were usually a pittance in comparison with the cost of the building project. Particularly unethical Committees were not averse to picking the elements of different designs and then inviting a different 'tame' architect to design the building after the competition using the ideas from the winning schemes.

For the architect, the competition system had a number of drawbacks, and journals such as *The Builder* were often full of letters howling indignation at the way competitions were run. The anonymity of the decision-making process was particularly vulnerable to criticism, and accusations of 'jobbery' where the Committee had decided the winner (usually a local architect) before the competition entries had even been received were rife. The fact that Committees were usually staffed by laymen rather than professionals was another frequent



bug-bear. *The Builder* commented 'Committees instruct architects, instead of architects instructing Committees. The patient prescribes for the physician, not the physician for the patient'.<sup>(2)</sup> Although later competitions were often overseen by architects (Alfred Waterhouse was especially ubiquitous in this role), this frequently didn't help as the Committee was rarely bound to take this professional advice, and the architects were hamstrung by the competition regulations. Barry for one was criticised for his choice in the Glasgow Town Hall competition as it was said to not comply with the conditions.<sup>(3)</sup> In any case, the first premiated architect was not bound to be given the commission for the subsequent building, meaning that the unfortunate winner had to console himself with a paltry 'prize' whilst someone else pocketed the more lucrative (normally 5%) proportion of the building cost for erecting the building. The premiums for winning competitions even for quite substantial buildings could be less than £100, yet Waterhouse in contrast made over £25,000 commission over fourteen years from his Manchester Town Hall work.<sup>(4)</sup>

Despite this, the thrill of the contest and the chance of instant fame clearly encouraged the majority of architects to enter competitions despite their problematic nature. The architects who did not (William Butterfield being perhaps the most famous) generally relied on the patronage of a particular group or person for their commissions. Despite their well-cultivated patronage by the Congregational Church and the Liberal leaders of Bradford, Lockwood and Mawson were frequent and highly successful entrants of architectural competitions. Some of these competitions were of course in Bradford, where the influence of their supporters behind the scenes seems to have given considerable assistance to Lockwood and Mawson's chances of success. Outside Bradford though, and particularly when entering competitions for workhouse buildings, they were phenomenally successful. Between 1849 and 1877 they entered 36 competitions, winning 26, being placed second in four and third in one other. Such a 'strike rate' ranks amongst the highest of any architectural practice of the Victorian era.<sup>(5)</sup>

## **EARLY COMPETITION ENTRIES**

Lockwood and Mawson had already gained some experience of the vagaries of the

competition system before they competed in the Bradford Workhouse competition. Lockwood described to the Bradford Workhouse Board the manner of the competition for the Liverpool Workhouse in 1843 where his plan had initially been placed third of 54 entries by the Committee, yet when the plans had been submitted to a jury of architects, his plan was declared the winner.<sup>(6)</sup> The 1846 competition for the design of a new market in Hull was even more farcical. The competition regulations were especially vague and did not even specify the site to be built upon, though *The Builder* reported that the prominent entries were those by Lockwood for the Leadenhall site, and those by Brodrick for a site on Silver Street.<sup>(7)</sup> The following week, the periodical announced that the favoured site was now Queen Street, after consultation with local people<sup>(8)</sup>, though a week later, the scheme apparently could not attract enough votes from Town Councillors and was dropped.<sup>(9)</sup> Even then, a month later came a final death throe as the Corporate Surveyor was instructed to prepare plans and estimates, before the scheme was laid finally to rest.<sup>(10)</sup> Despite this fiasco, Lockwood, by now partnered by William Mawson entered the competition when it was resurrected in 1849. The scheme was then renamed the 'Hull Corn Exchange Competition' and three designs were laid before the Committee - those of Lockwood and Mawson, Brodrick, and Niemann. The conditions of the competition involved converting the corn market to a fish market, and erecting a new corn market over the butter and poultry market with accesses from Blackfriargate and Fetter Lane. Lockwood and Mawson's design was declared the winner, though the Committee then haggled to reduce the price from its estimated cost of £3800 to £3500<sup>(11)</sup> though again it was apparently never built. Slightly earlier in the same year, the architects were also apparently declared the winners of the Brigg Corn Exchange Competition.<sup>(12)</sup>

## **ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITIONS IN BRADFORD**

### **The Bradford Workhouse**

The Bradford Workhouse competition appears to have been the first which the new partnership entered after moving to Bradford (35, xciv). The advertisement for the competition appeared in *The Builder* on October 20 1849 stipulating that the building must house 300 inmates, a vagrants ward and fever shed.<sup>(13)</sup> Entries were required by the 1



November, though this seemingly ridiculously short deadline seems to have been extended until the end of the month<sup>(14)</sup> following complaints from prospective entrants, one of whom ('Truth and Justice') prophetically also complained that the Guardians need not choose the winning scheme to build, but would pay a first premium of £30 instead - less than the cost of producing the plans.<sup>(15)</sup> By December 15, sixteen entries had been submitted of which eight were rejected out of hand and the rest reduced to a shortlist of three to be submitted to the Guardians<sup>(16)</sup> who were to be advised by two practical men, Mr Illingworth and curiously, Mr Mawson. It can only be assumed that the Mawson was William Mawson, though by then he would have already been in partnership with Lockwood.

The anonymous shortlisted schemes were passed to the Poor Law Inspector for an opinion, and having dismissed one plan, he concluded that plan no.3 (which was similar to the Sculcoates Workhouse and therefore clearly Lockwood's) was 'a plan complete in itself'<sup>(17)</sup> and therefore the best if the Guardians did not intend future expansion. However as he felt that the Guardians were likely to need to extend the building at a future date, then the remaining plan was the best.<sup>(18)</sup> The Inspector, Mr Austin, relayed his thoughts to the Workhouse Committee and they agreed to award the premium and building contract to Mr Atkinson. He was probably one of the brothers John Bownas Atkinson (d 1875), or William Atkinson (retired 1878) who continued their father Peter Atkinson II's York practice which he too had taken over from his father Peter I who was assistant then successor to John Carr.<sup>(19)</sup>

Lockwood disagreed strongly with the Inspector's conclusions and wrote to him with a plan showing how easily his building could be adapted. This was rejected as an 'amended plan' and Atkinson's design was recommended to the Board Of Guardians when they met on the 7 February 1850. When one of the Board attempted to confirm the award of the premium to Atkinson, W.E. Forster sprung to Lockwood's defence, claiming that the plan was clarified not amended and was clearly the best plan.<sup>(20)</sup> Even Lockwood, who was waiting in adjoining room was given a chance to air his views saying that he had 'come to reside amongst them, and was anxious that if he was beaten in his first essay, he should be beaten fairly and justly'.<sup>(21)</sup> He also urged the Board to show the plans to an architectural jury rather than rely on Inspector Austin who was not a professional architect.

The Board were divided, with some members feeling that they would look foolish if the first premium was awarded to Atkinson yet they built Lockwood's plan. Others were convinced that as Lockwood's plan was (even in the words of the Inspector) the best for 'present purposes' and had been shown to be easily extendable, it therefore represented the best value for the ratepayers. When the Board met on 21 February 1850, Lockwood offered to construct the building for £6000 or forego his 5% commission (£2000 cheaper than Atkinson's plan), and the Board duly agreed to adopt his plans by a 10-2 majority, though some still felt that Atkinson should be awarded the first prize.<sup>(22)</sup>

Lockwood's plan was duly adopted, even though Atkinson took the first premium (£30 compared to the £300 commission which Lockwood would gain from the building). Even after the decision, Lockwood had to negotiate with the Poor Law Board who suggested improvements which the Board of Guardians clearly felt quite ludicrous. Therefore whilst suggestions for 'itch' wards and toilet improvements were met with some sympathy, the request for an 'airing ground for convalescents' was met with the suggestion that perhaps they should provide 'a coach house and a nice terrace'.<sup>(23)</sup> When the Guardians decided to adopt some of the suggestions Lockwood made it plain that:

'his desire was to stand fairly both with the board and the public, and he wished it therefore to be distinctly understood, that if the board thought proper to incur this additional outlay in improving and extending the building from its original design, he should decline to receive any percentage upon any part of the outlay beyond the original estimate of £6000. The additional trouble and per centage (sic) were not to him worth a moment's consideration compared with the desire he had to produce a building which should be satisfactory not only to the board but to the public generally.'<sup>(24)</sup>

Lockwood and Mawson therefore emerged from their first competition entry in Bradford with considerable dignity. Whether Lockwood had been somewhat underhand in sending a 'clarified' plan to the Inspector, and apparently leaflets to the Guardians is now rather hard to ascertain. His actions upset some members of the Board, who felt that Lockwood was implying that they were not qualified to judge architectural matters, yet many more admired his ingenuity and were clearly impressed by his financial gestures. Of course Lockwood could afford to be magnanimous when he would be paid ten times more for his trouble than



the architect who was awarded the first premium.

### The St George's Hall

In 1851 (the year after the workhouse competition decision) a competition was held for the design of a new public hall in Bradford. This was an extremely prestigious commission which would involve the erection of the first public hall on such a scale in West Yorkshire. The idea had been the brainchild of the Liberal Mayor Samuel Smith, and had been much vaunted by the like-minded *Bradford Observer*:

‘...we flatter ourselves that the dawning of better things is perceivable. First, social unity. All classes meet together; all classes subscribe together. Together they will greet in the park; together they will sit in the public concert or town's gathering. Party feeling will be undermined, and a fresh, wholesome, growing, vigorous confidence will be gradually established in the various grades of social and political life.’<sup>(25)</sup>

The aim of the hall was to provide a venue for cultural activities and music, the demand for the latter being then met by public houses in the absence of any alternatives. Smith envisaged:

‘...young men and old, with their wives and daughters, and sisters, listening with deep and rapt attention to the soul-inspiring strains of music, or to the fervid eloquence of some gifted teacher, going to their several houses elevated and refreshed, rising in the morning to their daily toil, without headache and without regret.’<sup>(26)</sup>

A company of shareholders was consequently formed in 1849<sup>(27)</sup> and £16,000 was raised in £10 shares.<sup>(28)</sup> Salt was not surprisingly one of the nine directors of the subscription company, and one of only four who subscribed the maximum of £500.<sup>(29)</sup> The money was quickly raised and in 1851 a competition announced.

The competition attracted 21 competitors,<sup>(30)</sup> and when the results were announced, Lockwood and Mawson's design was declared the winner (46, iv). The second premium was awarded to Mr Dobson (probably John Dobson of Leeds, Mawson's erstwhile tutor).<sup>(31)</sup> Although few details of the competition survive, the result was apparently called into question. *The Builder* published a letter from ‘A Lover of Fair Play and a Competitor’ who

complained at the speed with which the choice of Lockwood and Mawson's design had been made, claiming that the Committee took just three hours over a period of three days to make up their mind. The correspondent also claimed that it had been rumoured in the town a fortnight before the announcement, that Lockwood and Mawson were the successful entrants.<sup>(32)</sup> The flames of controversy were further fuelled by the Committee's refusal to exhibit the unsuccessful drawings.<sup>(33)</sup>

Almost all the architectural competitions of any importance in the nineteenth century led to letters in publications like *The Builder*, and without doubt many of these were generated by little more than self-interest and sour grapes. A usual gripe was that the building could not be built within the sum specified in the competition rules, and true to form a letter from 'A Competitor who Abided by Instructions' appeared in *The Builder* claiming that the winning design would cost more than the £16,000 stipulated.<sup>(34)</sup> Although no conclusive documentary evidence survives, it is a strong coincidence that the men in charge of the St George's Hall competition were Titus Salt and his Liberal associates. This link is given further credence if Cunningham's claim that the need for a public hall was first voiced at a meeting of the Infirmary Trustees<sup>(35)</sup> is accurate, as undoubtedly many of these men would also be Guardians on the Workhouse Board. W.E. Forster, who had been such an outspoken supporter of Lockwood's design in the Workhouse competition, had himself spoken on 'Pauperism and its proposed remedies'<sup>(36)</sup> and was at the forefront of the Liberals' desire to improve the lot of the working man.

Briggs comments that the foundation stone of the St George's Hall 'was laid (with Masonic Honours) by the Earl of Zetland in 1851.'<sup>(37)</sup> Mawson was of course himself a practising mason and it is interesting to speculate how much influence this had on Lockwood and Mawson's success as there is little doubt that many of the important industrialists were also masons.

Further evidence of the developing relationship between Lockwood and Mawson and the 'city fathers' came later in 1851 when Lockwood and Mawson's plan was chosen from 'several designs'<sup>(38)</sup> for the erection of a new chapel and schools for the Independent



Congregationalists on Lister Hills in Bradford. This was an off-shoot of the Horton Lane Congregational Church which counted among its members Titus Salt, Robert Milligan and Samuel Smith who were all members of the St George's Hall committee.

### **The Bradford Exchange Competition**

By the time Lockwood and Mawson entered the competition for the Bradford Wool Exchange in 1864 (85, lvi-lviii), their practice had developed and their renown spread throughout West Yorkshire and beyond. They had developed their growing reputation for workhouse buildings including a success from fourteen entrants in the competition for Bradford's second workhouse at North Bierley. Perhaps more importantly however they had been working prodigiously at Saltaire, and carried out a number of other commissions for Titus Salt by the time that invitations were sent to ten architects to design a new exchange for Bradford.

The limited competition saw Lockwood and Mawson competing against their townsmen Milnes and France, together with the lesser known Paull and Ayliffe. Cuthbert Brodrick (Lockwood's former pupil), whose buildings were dominating the centre of Leeds, made up the local interest. Alfred Harris, one of the promoters of the Exchange, had also procured invitations for G.E. Street and Alfred Waterhouse, architects with a growing national reputation, and the then lesser-known William Burges, Richard Norman Shaw and Philip Webb.<sup>(39)</sup> The rank outsiders were the Liverpool firm of W. & G. Audsley.<sup>(40)</sup>

This shortlist of architects reflects the influences of the promoters of the Exchange, and the invitations to architects from outside the region was unique for a competition in Bradford. The involvement of a mixture of established and up-and-coming Gothic architects was due to the promptings of John Aldam Heaton and his friend and neighbour, the wealthy landowner, Alfred Harris.<sup>(41)</sup> Harris was the Secretary of the Exchange Committee, whilst Heaton lobbied tirelessly from outside. Heaton's sister, Ellen was a devout follower of John Ruskin, and through her, Heaton had gained audiences with Ruskin, Rossetti, Burges and Shaw.<sup>(42)</sup> This had developed his faith in the High Church Movement, and a complementary zeal for Gothic architecture. Throughout the early 1860s, Rossetti, Burges and Morris were

all busy decorating houses in Bingley for Heaton and his converted neighbours, whilst Waterhouse was designing a Mechanics Institute for the town and Shaw, the Holy Trinity Church where Heaton was churchwarden.<sup>(43)</sup>

The rest of the Committee were obviously keen to promote local architects, of which Lockwood and Mawson and Milnes and France were pre-eminent. They would also be well aware of Brodrick's work in Leeds, and his Classical buildings with similar influences to those of his former master Henry Lockwood, would appeal to the Liberal Nonconformists of Bradford. Paull and Ayliffe undertook several commissions for the Crossleys in Halifax,<sup>(44)</sup> and the relationship between Titus Salt and the Crossleys probably explains their invitation. The choice of the little-known Liverpool architects W. & G. Audsley is more difficult to explain.

The decision to hold a limited competition was probably taken in the light of the disarray which other towns had got into and the accusations of jobbery which had been levelled against them when local men had been chosen from large numbers of entrants. They may also have still been a little sensitive to the criticisms of the St George's Hall Competition. What was also different about the Exchange competition was that it was the Anglican Tories who were pushing so strongly for a Gothic design, and it was they rather than the Liberals who were attempting to use their influence to ensure that the right architect was successful. The competition is also renowned for its back-biting after the decision had been made, and the accusations and rebuttals are an interesting insight into the competition system itself.

The local architects were all known to be capable of designing Italianate and Classical buildings which would follow the general style of public and commercial buildings in the centre of Bradford. Harris and Heaton knew full well that the other committee members and the Bradford populace would need considerable persuasion to abandon this comfortable style. They therefore persuaded John Ruskin to deliver the second of his Bradford lectures on 'The Relation of the Architecture of Public Buildings to Daily Life' on 21 April 1864 - a matter of days before the deadline for submission of plans. Ruskin stayed at Woodbank, the home of Aldam Heaton prior to his address,<sup>(45)</sup> and seems to have to have been tipped off



unashamedly by his host to promote the style of architecture he felt most fitting for the new Exchange.

In delivering his speech, Ruskin could not however consider the architecture of the new building without first addressing the climate and background of its conception. His subsequent tirade against the great and the good of Bradford must presumably have shocked Heaton and Harris as much as it seems to have baffled his 'good Yorkshire friends'.<sup>(46)</sup>

'...most simply and sorrowfully I have to tell you that I do *not* care about this Exchange of yours...in a word...because *you* don't; and you know perfectly well that I cannot make you. Look at the essential conditions of the case, which you as business men know perfectly well, though perhaps you think I forget them. You are going to spend £30,000, which to you, collectively is nothing; the buying of a new coat, is, as to the cost of it, a much more important matter of consideration, to me, than building a new Exchange is to you. But you think you may as well have the right thing for your money. You know that there are a great many odd styles of architecture about; you don't want to do anything ridiculous; you hear of me, among others, as a respectable architectural man-milliner; and you send for me that I may tell you the leading fashion; and what is, in our shops, for the moment, the newest and sweetest thing in pinnacles.

Now pardon me for telling you frankly, you cannot have good architecture merely by asking people's advice on occasion. All good architecture is the expression of national life and character; and it is produced by a prevalent and eager national taste, or desire for beauty.'<sup>(47)</sup>

He told them that taste was not a part nor an 'index of morality', but the 'ONLY morality'. He denounced their worship of the 'Goddess of Getting-on' and told them that if they could 'determine some honest and simple order of existence' then they would know what type of building to construct. He impudently suggested that the frieze of their new building be decorated with 'pendant purses' with a centrepiece of Britannia holding a weaver's beam not a spear; carrying a shield depicting a semi-fleeced boar and the words 'in the best market'; and wearing a 'corselet' in the shape of a purse with thirty slits each for a piece of money to go into. He assured them that he did not consider all commerce to be vulgar, and that one purpose of *The Stones of Venice* was to show the architectural consequences of the greatness of spirit in a thriving commercial city. The difference between Bradford and Venice, in Ruskin's view, was that whilst the Italian city maintained its private faith, Bradford built

Gothic churches for a Sunday whilst its true spirit lay in its factories and warehouses. If Bradford could sort out its moral problems, then the architecture would take care of itself. The construction of Gothic buildings, without the underlying Gothic spirit would be a sham.<sup>(48)</sup>

Curiously, and presumably at the bidding of his hosts Harris and Heaton, Ruskin then went on to give the Bradford public an example of a fine Gothic building. Tellingly, this advice never appeared in the published versions of 'Traffic'.<sup>(49)</sup> Ruskin, by 1872, was regretting his promotion of Venetian Gothic, complaining that he had been driven from his home as it was surrounded by 'cursed Frankenstein monsters of indirectly my own making'.<sup>(50)</sup>

The building whose virtues Ruskin, to his later regret, decided to extol was the Manchester Assize Courts which he described as 'a very noble and beautiful building indeed, as lovely as it can be in general effect, containing a hall of exquisite proportions, beautifully lighted, the roof full of playful fancy and the corridors and staircases thoroughly attractive and charming'.<sup>(51)</sup>

By the time of Ruskin's address, Waterhouse, the architect of the Manchester Assizes had withdrawn from the competition. Street followed suit as did Webb and Brodrick. All were denied extra time to submit their drawings with Webb and Brodrick apparently being denied just an extra nine days.<sup>(52)</sup> The others all managed to submit in time.

The twelve members of the Exchange Committee met in mid-May 1864 to discuss the submissions. Harris voted for entry no.1 'With all my heart' which not surprisingly was revealed as the design of William Burges. The other eleven members of the Committee voted unanimously for 'Experientia' - the design by Lockwood and Mawson.<sup>(53)</sup>

As was customary in the aftermath of architectural competitions of the nineteenth century, the supporters of the unsuccessful schemes used the press to voice their rage. Heaton and Harris quickly penned letters to the *Bradford Observer* in characteristically vitriolic fashion. J.A.H. (John Aldam Heaton) claimed that his suggestion that the plans be submitted to an



architectural advisor had been rejected by the Committee who also refused to look at a report on the costs of all the schemes mysteriously provided by the erstwhile competitor Alfred Waterhouse. J.A.H. had also commissioned the local architects Knowles and Wilcox to produce a report on the accommodation provided and this, claimed Heaton, proved that Lockwood and Mawson's plan was the second least productive and second most expensive, whilst plan no. 1 ('With all my heart' by Burges) could be built under budget and no. 6 ('Rien n'est beau, que le vrai' by Shaw) had an extra floor of accommodation.

Heaton concluded that the Committee had been 'led captive by the bright eyes and golden curls' of Lockwood's external designs which he claimed had been knocked up in fourteen days whilst Burges and Shaw had toiled for as many weeks. He felt that the scant regard paid to their designs by the Committee members would 'mislead and insult the London competitors, who will take care to make Bradford stink in the nostrils of their professional brethren'.<sup>(54)</sup> He dismissed Lockwood and Mawson's designs as 'ecclesiastical' rather than true Gothic and offered to submit the drawings to a panel of architects (conveniently including both Waterhouse and Street) at his own expense. Harris' arguments were much the same concluding that if Shaw's design had been chosen then 'Bradford would have possessed one of the most original and beautiful structures of modern times'<sup>(55)</sup> and that Bradford was unlikely to attract first rate architects unless better judgement was shown. A letter from 'D' was also published in the same edition. This again voiced the same complaints as Heaton and Harris criticising shareholders for not leaving the decision on architectural matters to an unbiased person.<sup>(56)</sup>

The bickering continued over the next few weeks, and the architect Eden Nesfield joined the fray. His comments (based purely on Heaton's account) were largely concerned with defending the conduct of his friends Shaw and Burges and the judgement of his other friend Waterhouse who would be made to look foolish if his views on the cost of the building were proved inaccurate and Lockwood and Mawson constructed their building within budget.<sup>(57)</sup> Other contributors also instantly questioned Waterhouse's judgement, finding it odd that he could cost all the schemes in just two days, concluding that he must have skimped. Knowles and Wilcox who had reported on the amount of accommodation to support Heaton's view



were also ridiculed because of the feeble Gothic warehouse which they had designed for Harris. The correspondent concluded that 'educated' men would laugh at it, whilst the uneducated ('nobodies') would grin at it.<sup>(58)</sup> Other correspondents went further, accusing Harris and Heaton of attempting to foist their pet style on the public. Burges' design was ridiculed because the roofs could only be cleared of snow by pushing it through 'a tunnel six yards long'<sup>(59)</sup> indicating a misunderstanding of the Bradford climate, whilst Shaw's was considered 'deliberately ugly, designed on the notion that Bradford people are a rough and uncultivated lot, without taste'.<sup>(60)</sup> In Nonconformist Bradford, even the winning design was criticised for being too 'churchy'.<sup>(61)</sup>

The principal rebuttal of Harris and Heaton came from Lockwood himself however when he wrote 'with extreme reluctance'<sup>(62)</sup> to the *Bradford Observer* on 2 June 1864. He broke his silence only because his name had been brought into disrepute, adding that he had 'long been aware of the proceedings of those who arrogate to themselves the exclusive knowledge of art, and who are ambitious that their fist should be obsequiously adopted by our townsmen'.<sup>(63)</sup>

Lockwood had realised that 'their only chance of success lay in the adoption of an architectural design of this (Gothic) character'.<sup>(64)</sup> He was aware that when the Secretary (Harris) had pinned on the walls of the Bradford Newsroom some photographs of 'the finest civil medieval buildings existing on the continent', this was done with the express intent of informing the design of the proposed Exchange. 'Show me the judges: I will tell you the decision'<sup>(65)</sup> commented the architect.

Lockwood highlighted the rules of the competition which forbade canvassing in any form, with the penalty of instant exclusion for any transgressor.<sup>(66)</sup> Lockwood claimed that he had adhered to this so scrupulously that he didn't even know half of the committee until after the decision had been made. In contrast, Burges 'the author of the design...which it is now so unblushingly attempted to force upon the shareholders'<sup>(67)</sup> had been a guest of Harris, and had held 'close conference' with him and 'J.A.H.'. Lockwood further claimed that so often had he heard that either design no.1 or no.6 would be selected, that several friends had urged him not to bother entering, and only William Mawson had persuaded him otherwise.<sup>(68)</sup>



Lockwood was clearly well aware of Harris' and Heaton's purpose in inviting Ruskin 'a gentleman of undoubted genius, of brilliant talent, and powerfully eloquent - but yet of incomprehensible theories' who was invited to lecture the inhabitants of Bradford 'into conformity with their own archaic notions'.<sup>(69)</sup> Lockwood was scathing; 'not *their* notions: second-hand notions, which they had picked up and put into circulation as proof that they alone were capable of correct arbitrament on all questions of art'.<sup>(70)</sup> He further accused Harris of attempting to influence the public when the drawings were put on display.

The identity of the previous week's correspondents to the newspaper was then disclosed by Lockwood. 'The Lover of Gothic' was revealed as the architect of the Secretary's warehouse (Knowles or Wilcock, though not named), and the designer of 'D's' house. This was of course the practice which Heaton had asked to produce an unbiased precis of the accommodation provided by plan nos. 1, 2 and 6. 'Oh, that mine enemy would write a book.'<sup>(71)</sup>

Lockwood then sought to explain Heaton's comment that Lockwood had produced the designs in a fortnight. He claimed that this was simply the drawing, and that this did not account for the background study, and that twelve people had worked solidly on the drawings for that period. He concluded by poking fun at Heaton and Harris; 'now they would have the race run over again: so would all the losers in this very week's Derby - if they could',<sup>(72)</sup> though in more serious tones, he accused them of depriving his townsmen of their hard earned and legitimate success. He also regretted that architecture should be a subject discussed in the newspaper and commented that 'an architect now is an antiquary, and he is looked upon, by some, as the brightest genius who most servilely copies the works of the past - faults and all'.<sup>(73)</sup> The letter finishes with a barely-veiled threat; 'It would be easy to say much more, and I shall if need be, but it is well to remember that very old advice, 'always keep a shot in the locker'.<sup>(74)</sup>

Although letters did continue to appear in the *Bradford Observer*, the discussion generally related to whether Lockwood and Mawson could produce the building they had designed within the budget allowed. The decision by the Exchange Committee Chairman, H.W. Ripley

(one of Lockwood's supporters), to invite the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston (seen as the last of the Regency bucks, and roundly disliked by the Bradford workers) to lay the foundation stone on 9 August 1864 soon distracted attention from the competition itself.

The correspondence shows the extent to which Committee members attempted to influence the outcome, though in the Exchange competition, such underhand tactics were employed by the opponents of Lockwood and Mawson not their supporters. The success of Lockwood and Mawson's design was undoubtedly due to some extent to the support of the Chairman Henry Ripley (a Liberal Nonconformist), though the 11-1 majority vote indicates that support transcended party lines. However, Lockwood's claim that he was so sure that one of the young Goths would win that he wasn't going to bother entering, indicates that he did not feel that his support would be strong enough, and the success was in all likelihood due to the architects' skill and quick thinking as much as to any behind the scenes patronage.

Harris and Heaton probably gambled that the local architects in the competition would be incapable of producing a Gothic design (their subsequent criticism that Lockwood and Mawson's work lacked the underlying 'spirit' tacked on to the end of Heaton's letter has the air of a last desperate volley). Committee Members would undoubtedly know the identity of the competitors despite the supposed anonymity of the motto requirement, and so when Lockwood and Mawson did produce a Gothic design, the chances were high that a local firm would get the vote.

This implies that Lockwood and Mawson left their design work relatively late to avoid inevitable leaks of information (perhaps the drawings were produced in just fourteen days). This notion is given some credence by the rather unfinished appearance of the competition drawings, but more especially by the fact that the design was in fact not entirely new. Similarities between the Exchange and Scott's Halifax Town Hall designs have been claimed, but more importantly, the Exchange is remarkably similar to one of Lockwood and Mawson's unsuccessful designs for the 1861 Hull Town Hall competition (75, lix).<sup>(75)</sup> Virtually identical are the Venetian Gothic polychromatic detailing to the arched windows, the windows themselves, the openwork cresting, the hipped roofs and the dominant clock tower with its



Flemish Cloth Hall feel. It seems clear that Lockwood and Mawson recycled this scheme as all their other Gothic buildings before 1864 were churches (with the exception of Lockwood's solo Tudor Gothic work), and they had not designed a public building in the Gothic style.

The other factor behind Lockwood and Mawson's success may have been the reaction against Harris' and Heaton's unashamed promotion of their favoured architects. If Lockwood found Ruskin's theories 'incomprehensible', then almost certainly they were even more baffling to the majority of the Bradford public. What the listeners would have understood was its damning criticism of Bradford business (which was hardly likely to endear Ruskin and his 'followers' to them) and the favourable comments regarding the Manchester Assizes Court. Lockwood and Mawson's Exchange with its fine trading hall and staircase would have been seen as more akin to this role model than Shaw's 'deliberately ugly' building.

### **The Bradford Town Hall Competition**

By the time Bradford decided to build a town hall (as opposed to a public hall) in 1869, Lockwood and Mawson's fame had spread throughout the north and to London. Work continued at Saltaire and they had built a few large private houses for wealthy industrialists. In Bradford itself though, their principal buildings since the Wool Exchange had been the Bradford Club in 1865 and the more prestigious Victoria Hotel two years later. The Bradford Town Hall competition, one of the most notorious of the Victorian era, made it clear that Lockwood and Mawson's popularity was far from on the wane.

About 400 applications for instructions were received by the Town Clerk when the competition was announced. The competition requirements however 'were found to be so unsatisfactory in many respects that letters of inquiry and explanation passed in great numbers, until at last the different points of the instructions were so modified that the competitors were virtually told that they might do just as they liked'.<sup>(76)</sup>

According to *The Builder*, this raised a certain amount of suspicion amongst the competitors, which increased when they noticed that attached to the instructions was a form to be

completed stating how much hanging space they required. As this was numbered, it would be possible to tell who had submitted the plans despite the apparent anonymity of the motto system. Possibly as a consequence, only around thirty entries were received - nearly half from London, some from even further afield and very few from West Yorkshire. *The Builder* commented that ignoring local men 'the numbers of the competitors increase according to the inverse ratio of their proximity to Bradford.'<sup>(77)</sup> It went on to suggest a reason for the peculiar pattern of applications;-

'The reason being that the further they were removed the less they knew of the "family feeling" of the Bradford "good folks". There was an old rule that if anything good chanced it was to be kept in the family. What a "happy family" must this one be when all the plums are given to its own children irrespective of good behaviour.'<sup>(78)</sup>

The designs were put on display in a warehouse near to the site of the proposed building prior to the special Council Meeting on 5 October 1869 at which a decision would be made. *The Builder* felt that there was a certain amount of selection involved in the way the plans had been displayed, as on visiting the exhibition the magazine's representatives had been told by the curator that those on the top floor were scarcely worth looking at.<sup>(79)</sup> There were also accusations by one of the competitors that a leading Bradford practice had carried its drawings uncovered through the streets of the town,<sup>(80)</sup> and on the opening of the sealed envelope to announce the winner, *The Builder* reported 'a very pretty bit of innocent by-play'.<sup>(81)</sup>

When the winners were announced, the worst fears of the competitors and the various magazines appeared to have been realised, as first premium was awarded to 'Let Bradford Flourish', second to 'Justitia' and third to 'Gablet'. These emerged as the designs of Lockwood and Mawson, Milnes and France and Samuel Jackson respectively. All were Bradford architects.

Not surprisingly, the journals quickly filled with outraged comment and letters claiming that the Committee had ensured that Bradford architects had been successful. *The Building News* went further criticising the standard considering it their 'unhappy fate to see so large an accumulation of ill-considered work'<sup>(82)</sup> which they blamed largely on the clannish reputation



of Yorkshiremen! Particular criticism was levelled at the other designs (lxiv), with Milnes and France's second premiated design described as 'an inverted toast rack' by *The Building News* who renamed Jackson's design 'Gablet on the Brain' considering it to be a design by a run-riot Batty Langley.<sup>(83)</sup> *The Architect* also noted that Jackson's plan was over budget, whilst praising designs by J P Seddon and Walford and Evill of London.<sup>(84)</sup> Although disappointed at the overall standard of the entries, none of the magazines, however, took issue with the correctness of the decision in awarding the first prize to Lockwood and Mawson. *The Architect* commented 'There is nothing in the entire exhibition to compare with their completeness, with the beauty of their delineation and tinting or with the number, size, or the richness of their glazed and gilded frames'.<sup>(85)</sup> *The Builder* considered 'Let Bradford Flourish' to be the 'most elaborately set forth of any in the collection...illustrated by six beautifully drawn exterior and interior views, coloured in sepia with great artistic feeling'. It went on to proclaim that 'Fortune has treated Bradford much better than might have happened, for the plan...is one of the best in the collection, both in arrangement and architecture'. As in the other journals, it concluded that 'the fickle lady has taken her revenge in the character of the second and third designs'.<sup>(86)</sup>

Most of the journals however implied that Lockwood and Mawson's designs (112, lx-lxiii) were not particularly original and found fault with aspects of the architectural treatment if not the plan form (lxiii) which was 'studied to meet the special and departmental requirements of the various sections of the building'.<sup>(87)</sup> All make it clear that they were in no doubt that the 'cunning' architects ensured that their entry was beautifully presented.

'Messrs. Lockwood and Mawson...have gone in to win, and have sent in two beautifully-executed designs, the one Gothic, fitted, like ready-made clothes, on to the same block. They also send in an additional supplementary plan showing certain modifications, so that anything may go anywhere, and everybody may be pleased: and their report upon their design is the most deftly performed feat of literary thimble-rigging we recollect to have encountered...'<sup>(88)</sup>

The design then faced the charge from Edward Godwin that it had been plagiarised from the work of William Burges.<sup>(89)</sup> Burges, who of course was probably still smarting from the Bradford Exchange defeat, replied saying that although he recognised features of the building, he had not been consulted.<sup>(90)</sup> Just as in the Exchange competition, Lockwood used his pen

in self-defence, claiming (with reference to the report submitted with his competition designs) that the inspiration for the clock tower was the *campanile* of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (lxii), whilst the arrangement of the windows was based on the Galerie des Rois and Galerie Intermediare of Amiens Cathedral (lxi). Lockwood was 'prepared to apologise in the most frank manner if these tolerably well-known examples should prove to be the exclusive copyright of Mr Burges'.<sup>(91)</sup> Godwin was forced to back down, claiming he made his comments because of the similarity between one of the town hall bays and one included on Burges' designs in the London Law Courts competition.<sup>(92)</sup>

More than anything else, the competitions for the three most prestigious buildings in Bradford highlight the desire which Lockwood and Mawson had to win. They were prepared to work hard to ensure that their designs would find favour not just with the city fathers but with the wider population. Such care included the production of extremely high quality drawings backed up by technical reports and internal elevations, and the willingness to produce Classical and Gothic versions. Even by the late 1860s, when the fashion for Gothic had spread amongst the majority of the Nonconformists, the architects were clearly not fully convinced that the style would appeal to the decision-makers. The letters to the *Bradford Observer* criticising their Exchange design for being too 'churchy',<sup>(93)</sup> and the fact that the second-placed scheme in the town hall competition was a 'Classical' Franco-Italianate design demonstrates that the precaution of producing Classical and Gothic designs was probably sensible. Even accounting for the 'sour grapes' and professional jealousy which was undoubtedly a factor behind many of the vitriolic letters and reports which appeared in the contemporary press, it is hard to imagine that Lockwood and Mawson did not enjoy anything but the most vigorous backing of men such as Titus Salt and his large band of peers. What is even clearer is that Lockwood and Mawson were exceptionally gifted tacticians who read the undercurrents which guided much of the decision-making in the town with considerable aplomb. Their schemes were very easy to support.

### **Other Design Competitions in Bradford**

Lockwood and Mawson were virtually unbeatable in design competitions for buildings in Bradford until the 1870s. Successes such as the Lister Hills Congregational Church and



Schools, the St George's Hall and the Bradford Workhouse paved the way for future victories in competitions for the design of the North Bierley Workhouse (56, xcvi) in 1855 when they beat thirteen other entrants <sup>(94)</sup> and the Horton Lane Congregational Church (71, lxxv) in 1860-2 when they beat twelve competitors.<sup>(95)</sup> Probably their only defeat in a Bradford competition came in 1868 when Andrews, son and Pepper won the first premium for their design of the Bradford House of Recovery (104) despite Lockwood and Mawson's precaution of providing Gothic and Italianate designs.<sup>(96)</sup> Lockwood and Mawson gained their revenge in 1873 when they beat the same architects in a limited competition between the two for the design of a new church for the Sion Baptists on Harris Street (127, lxxv).<sup>(97)</sup>

In 1871, Lockwood and Mawson's relationship with the leaders of the borough was again to prove fruitful when the architects were chosen to design the new borough markets (121, cxv, cxvi). This was a large scheme involving a sizeable redevelopment of the Kirkgate and Darley Street areas. Presumably following the criticism of the Town Hall Competition, the borough decided not to bother with outsiders at all and so restricted the competition to Bradford architects only; 'the *amour propre* of the Townsmen, and a prophetic pity for strangers who might possibly be induced to enter the lists'.<sup>(98)</sup>

In customary fashion, the designs had to be submitted under a motto, and twelve competitors duly entered. Despite the charade of anonymity, Lockwood and Mawson would have been instantly recognisable as the architects of the scheme entitled 'Experientia Docet' as this was the same motto they used for almost every architectural competition which they entered. The Markets Committee met in July 1869 and quickly decided that Lockwood and Mawson's scheme was the winner with Andrews, son and Pepper second and T Hargreaves third.<sup>(99)</sup>

The architectural press quickly condemned the competition. The editorial of *The Building News* concluded that competitions of this sort favoured no-one and that the winning architect 'in nine times out of ten is the one to whom the work would have been entrusted had there been no competitions'.<sup>(100)</sup> Lockwood's designs were also criticised as he intended to build all the shops together rather than allowing them to be finished by the prospective traders who let the spaces, and he was accused of grossly underestimating the cost, *The Building News*

calculating that the ironwork alone would cost £20,000.<sup>(101)</sup> *The Builder* felt that the market was more like ‘a lounge for dandies, rather than the market place of a working man’.<sup>(102)</sup> Presumably they agreed with the contention that the Bradford people were ‘a rough and uncultivated lot’ which had been assumed by a correspondent to the *Bradford Observer* during the Wool Exchange Competition.<sup>(103)</sup> *The Architect* though considered that ‘the design has been so arranged, as to combine architectural unity and a perfect concealment of the defects of the ground.’<sup>(104)</sup>

The borough presumably decided to run a competition rather than simply awarding the contract to Lockwood and Mawson to give other architects a chance of success. Yet there must have been little doubt that Lockwood and Mawson would win. By the 1870s, the architects were retained by the council to advise on street improvements and designs and had been involved in some substantial redevelopment schemes. Despite the competence of architects such as Andrews, Son and Pepper, it was always likely that Lockwood and Mawson would win the competition.

## DESIGN COMPETITIONS OUTSIDE BRADFORD

Although Lockwood and Mawson’s success rate in Bradford Competitions was certainly not adversely effected by their special relationship with the town’s leading figures, their remarkably high success rate in competitions outside the town demonstrates that this was not the determining factor in their success.

Harper calculates that Lockwood and Mawson were successful in twenty of the thirty architectural competitions which they entered.<sup>(105)</sup> This is not entirely accurate as not all the competitions were reported in *The Builder*, but the comment that their success rate was one of the highest of the Victorian era is correct. In Bradford, as we have seen, they won nine out of the ten competitions they entered. Elsewhere, and excluding the competitions entered by Lockwood whilst working alone, they entered 26 competitions, winning 16, being placed second in four and third in one other.



Three of the competitions in which they were unplaced were for highly prestigious London Buildings. The entry for the design of the Great Exhibition buildings in 1850<sup>(106)</sup> was the only competition in which they were unplaced from 1849 until 1865 when they were similarly unsuccessful with their entry in the St Pancras Hotel competition.<sup>(107)</sup> Their third unsuccessful London foray was in the limited competition for the design of the Law Courts which is interesting as a study of how provincial architects were treated in the capital. Just being invited to submit (albeit not as a first choice) was testament itself to the success of the practice in the 1860s. Outside London, they were not placed in a competition for a Baptist Chapel on Sheffield's Glossop Road,<sup>(108)</sup> and were similarly unsuccessful when one of three architects invited to submit a design for a workhouse in Burnley.<sup>(109)</sup>

The Burnley Workhouse competition was won by a local man, yet workhouses provided a rich vein of work for Lockwood and Mawson and all the commissions appear to have been the result of competition wins. Excluding Lockwood's solo workhouse commissions, Lockwood and Mawson competed in nine workhouse competitions, winning seven, gaining the £50 premium for second place in the Leeds competition (again behind a Leeds architectural firm) and losing only in Burnley. They also won the initial Leeds General Infirmary Competition in 1861, though the site was ultimately changed and Gilbert Scott chosen as the architect.

Perhaps not surprisingly (given the lack of buildings by Leeds architects in Bradford), Lockwood and Mawson's strike rate in Leeds was not good, though they were always 'placed'. Lockwood's former pupil Cuthbert Brodrick beat them into second place in the Leeds Town Hall competition in 1852 (Briggs speculates that this may have been due to the relative cheapness of Brodrick's design<sup>(110)</sup>), and into third place in the Corn Exchange Competition of 1860. In the following year, he also beat his former tutor back in Hull in the town hall competition.

Chapels and churches constituted another rich vein for Lockwood and Mawson with wins in competitions for Wesleyan Methodist Chapels in Harrogate, Snaith and in London's Warwick Gardens. They were similarly successful in the competition to design a new Baptist Chapel

in Woodhouse Lane, Leeds (despite *The Builder* initially reporting the success of Paull and Ayliffe<sup>(111)</sup>), and Lockwood won the commission to design St Stephen's Church, Cambridge Park, Twickenham in 1874. The latter church appears to have been won in another controversial competition which prompted a letter to *The Architect* claiming that the architectural advisor had placed Lockwood's scheme last, and that the cost was £1500 higher than stipulated in the competition requirements.<sup>(112)</sup> The Warwick Gardens Wesleyan Methodist Church competition was also rather unusual as another architect was originally lined up to build the church before Lockwood and Mawson were suddenly invited to produce tenders.

The gaining of these two London church commissions seem to show that Lockwood and Mawson were tactically just as astute in London as they were in Bradford. They needed to be as the Law Courts Competition provided proof that the provincial architect in London faced considerable discrimination when competing against better-known figures.

In 1866, Lockwood was one of only twelve architects invited to submit designs for the design of the new Law Courts on The Strand (97, lxxv). Although not one of the initial six architects chosen, he was picked after the withdrawal of architects such as P.C. Hardwick, T.H. Wyatt, E.M. Barry and G.G. Scott, and following the increase in the numbers of competitors to dispel the rumours of 'jobbery' which were rife.<sup>(113)</sup> Lockwood's nearby Inns of Court Hotel completed the previous year clearly acted as a handily-placed advertisement of his talents.

The designs of such a prestigious new building attracted considerable coverage in the trade journals and the drawings were displayed near the site to which the public were admitted. *The Builder* praised Lockwood's designs declaring that 'the general outline is good, and the unity and harmony sought to be obtained in the plan have been observed in the outer forms'.<sup>(114)</sup> *The Engineer* was equally impressed with Lockwood's commonsense planning, and considered his proposal one of the most likely to succeed.<sup>(115)</sup>

The public too found much to admire in Lockwood's large perspectives of the proposed building, and the alcove in which his drawings were displayed was reputedly always



crowded.<sup>(116)</sup> The high centrepiece to The Strand, which Lockwood christened the ‘Albert Tower’, was a more elaborate version of the tower attached to the Bradford Wool Exchange, and both this and the recreated ‘Westminster Hall’ inside were popular with visitors to the exhibition.

Like many of Lockwood’s Gothic designs however, the regular pattern of vertical elements and symmetrical form would not find favour with those who felt themselves to be in the vanguard of the Gothic Revival in Britain. The *Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal* felt the design to be out of date and more akin to bygone designs such as Eaton Hall or Hopper’s Houses of Parliament designs ‘which attended more value to showy florid ornament than genuine Gothic leading forms’.<sup>(117)</sup> They surmised that Lockwood would have been happier producing a Classical design. The *Saturday Review* came to a similar opinion feeling that the designs lacked ‘true Gothic spirit’<sup>(118)</sup> and calling the detailing ‘bookwork’.

The *Building News* however was considerably more vitriolic. Whilst acknowledging that Lockwood’s exhibition was usually so crammed that it was difficult to see anything, they concluded that his fans consisted of ‘women and very young men’.<sup>(119)</sup> Although Lockwood had stated his intention was to enter into the spirit of the Gothic style rather than produce ‘mere Archaism’,<sup>(120)</sup> the *Building News* felt that Lockwood’s plate tracery was used to such an extent that it would frighten Ruskin and ‘make the hair of the wildest Italian architect stand on end.’<sup>(121)</sup> They pointed out to Lockwood that there was an enormous gulf between the judges of a competition in Bradford and those of a great national work in London. They concluded that ‘the unprofessional public, and ladies especially, who of course know nothing about the real nature of Gothic, its construction, or its detail, may easily be taken in.’<sup>(122)</sup> The pomposity and patronising tone of the *Building News* article beautifully illustrate the problems a provincial architect designing in London faced. Clearly to create a niche in the market, the relatively new publication had to be controversial and they clearly saw themselves as great arbiters of taste and defenders of the Gothic Revival.

The final decision on the winner of the competition was as farcical as any Victorian competition with the judges deciding that Barry’s internal arrangements were the best, though

Street's exterior was superior. They therefore bizarrely resolved to ask the architects to work together to produce a final design.<sup>(123)</sup> After much prevarication, the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer resolved to offer the commission to Street alone.

Lockwood does not seem to have been one of those whom the rumour-mongers believed would be successful before a decision was announced with Waterhouse and Burges generally felt to be the most likely winners. A report by two architects appointed by the Government, who had become nervous about the lack of architectural expertise on the judging panel, did however give some support to Lockwood. The report attempted to assess the success of the various designs in solving several 'problems' and this ranked Barry's plan the best, followed by Scott's and then Lockwood's. In most other reports (including those by the Fire Officer, Law Officers, Lawyers and various others), Lockwood's design seems to have neither been singled out for particular praise nor for the scathing criticism meted out to some of the architects; even to those with a considerable national standing. Scott's design, for example, was roundly condemned by the Chief Officer of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade who concluded that the eminent architect 'does not appear to have made the smallest attempt to master the subject'.<sup>(124)</sup>

Lockwood's considerable work in the production of the designs for the Law Courts competition was certainly not in vain however. The designs for the Bradford Town Hall would recycle many of the motifs used in the London competition in addition to the further interpretation of continental designs. In London, Lockwood's designs had obviously made a considerable impression on some of those who had seen them. His future career in the capital would therefore centre on buildings in the Holborn area and The Strand close to the site of the Inns of Court Hotel and the Law Courts, and the London office would be based at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

## CONCLUSIONS

Lockwood and Mawson were one of the most successful architectural firms of the Victorian era in terms of their successes when entering architectural competitions. This can be



explained in part by their extraordinary success in Bradford where they lost only one competition, and where they were assured of the backing of their influential Liberal Nonconformist friends. However as the Exchange and Town Hall competitions showed, they had to work for their success. In the former competition they cleverly judged the architectural climate and were prepared to produce a building in a style totally different from their normal designs, and in doing so out-manoeuvred their opponents who clearly expected them to produce a 'stock' Classical design. In the town hall competition they submitted both Gothic and Classical designs and produced drawings of exceptional quality which were understandably popular with the residents and committee members alike. What also seems clear, is that in the competitions which followed the Exchange competition, the Anglican Tories no longer attempted to block Lockwood and Mawson's designs, nor to introduce architects from outside the town. The controversy which followed the Town Hall Competition was based on the feeling that the building committee ensured that the winners were architects from Bradford, and whilst few appear to have disagreed with the choice of Lockwood and Mawson's scheme as the winner, the second and third premiated designs which were also by Bradford architects were widely ridiculed. By the time of the Kirkgate Market Competition, the committee simply restricted the competition to Bradford architects.

Outside Bradford, the success of Lockwood and Mawson in architectural competitions seems to have centred around their growing reputation as designers of chapels, workhouses and market buildings; these forming the backbone of their competition successes. Their competition entries were generally restricted to northern towns and London. The London successes were both for ecclesiastical buildings, though their second premiated design for an Infantry Barracks in 1856 appears to have been widely admired and may have led to other commissions for the Government. Lockwood and Mawson were not successful in the major competitions for the Great Exhibition, the St Pancras Hotel or the Law Courts, though the design of the latter was again admired by some (despite the prejudicial reporting in some journals) and may have been influential in commissions around the Holborn and Strand areas which were a feature of the architects' commissions after the London office was established. The end of the 1870s appears to have seen the practice attempting to spread their talents to other parts of the country and successes in competitions for the University College in

Nottingham and the Dublin Markets were prestigious contests to win. It is interesting to speculate whether Lockwood and Mawson would have become more nationally renowned had Lockwood not died in 1878 shortly after these two competitions had been won. Instead, the practice appears to have contracted, particularly after William Mawson's retirement in 1886, and this allied to the increasing competition amongst architects, and the appointment of a municipal architect in Bradford saw fewer competition successes after 1878.



## CHAPTER 5: BUILDING TYPES AND GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

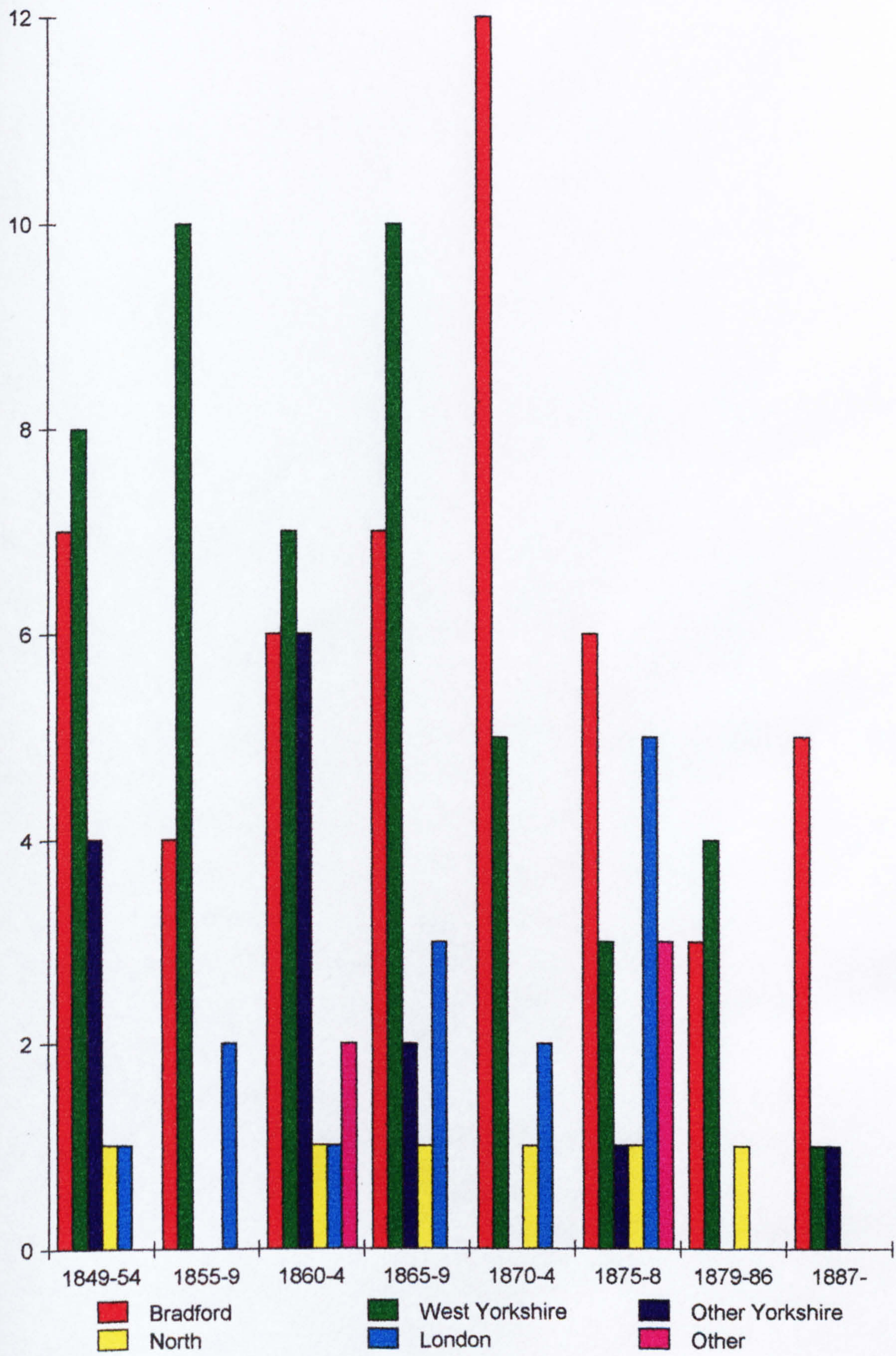
### INTRODUCTION

Throughout a thirty year period from the formation of their partnership in 1849 to the aftermath of Lockwood's death in 1878, Lockwood and Mawson were prolific designers of buildings (see charts 1 & 2 overleaf). Considering that throughout most of this period they were designing or overseeing work at Saltaire, their output is remarkably prodigious. Only in two five year periods between 1855 and 1859 and between 1875 and 1879 did they win fewer than twenty commissions. This can probably be explained in the former case by the time taken up by the first phase of housing at Saltaire, and in the later period by the slump in the woollen trade which appears to have affected their commissions elsewhere in West Yorkshire rather than work in Bradford. In both 1860-4 and 1865-9, they won twenty-three commissions with a large number in West Yorkshire, but a mixture of work in other parts of the country. Between 1875 and 1879 the London office and was extremely successful and this was supplemented by commissions elsewhere in the country which probably indicated a growing national reputation prior to Lockwood's death. The remarkable cut-off after 1879 when the successor firms of W.& R. Mawson and Mawson and Hudson gained very few commissions is most striking and will be considered in the postscript to this work.

The location of the buildings with which they were involved also demonstrates a number of trends. In the first five years of the newly relocated partnership, their commissions were almost equally spread between Bradford, elsewhere in West Yorkshire and the rest of Yorkshire. Such a split can be explained by the completion of projects in the Hull area, and the early patronage of Titus Salt and his colleagues (Saltaire is included as West Yorkshire rather than Bradford for the purposes of this comparison). In the following decade (between 1855 and 1859), the practice relied much more on commissions from within the rest of West Yorkshire rather than Bradford, though such commissions came about through their links with Nonconformist churches or wealthy businessmen including Titus Salt and John Crossley. During this period they were also involved in buildings for the government in London where they were placed second in the Infantry Barracks competition and gained a commission for

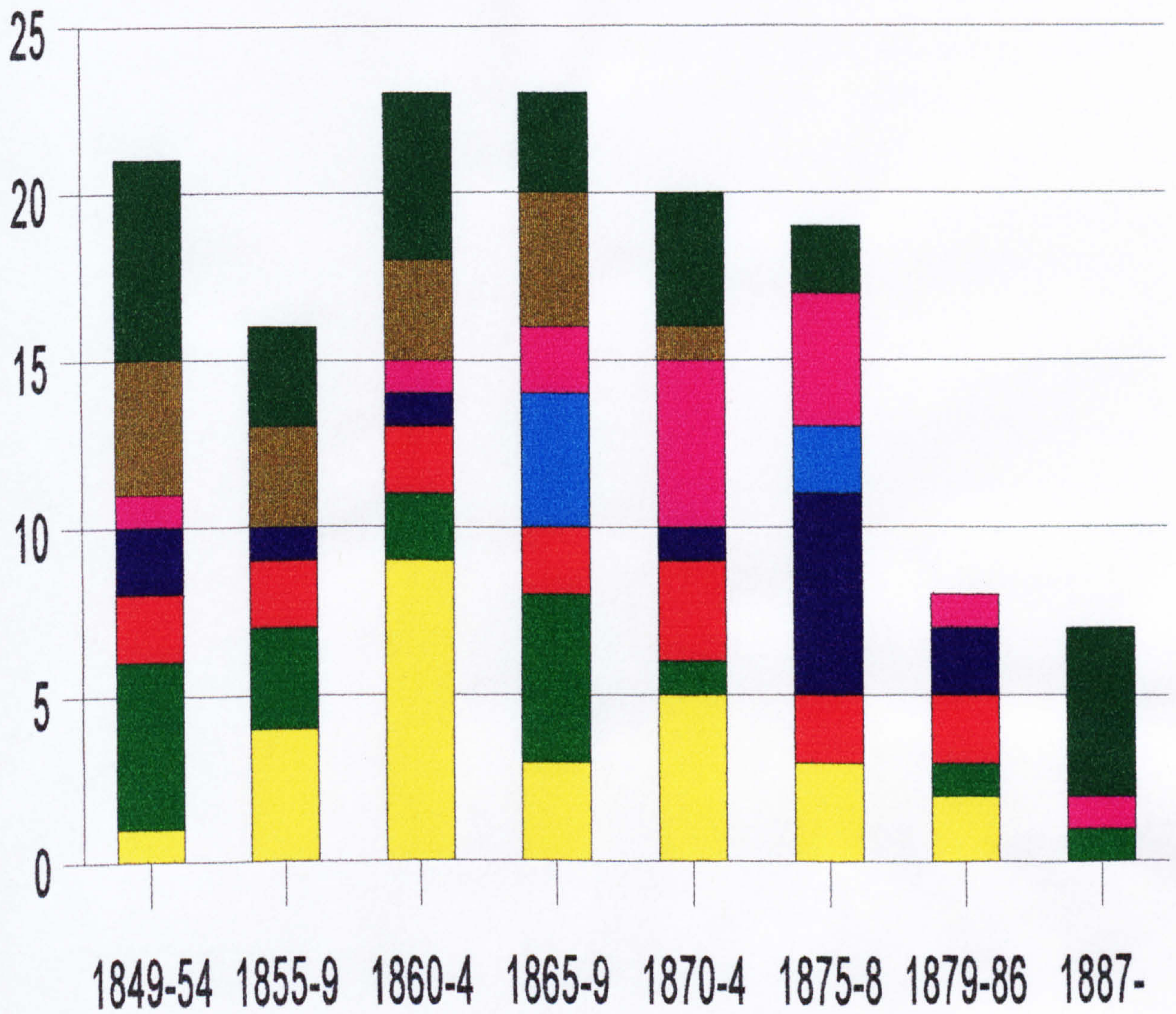


Chart 1: Geographical Location





# Chart 2: Building Type





the design of a rifle factory at Enfield Lock.

The next ten years saw a consolidation of work in Bradford and West Yorkshire, though during the first period the three church commissions in Harrogate (then itself in the West Riding) in 1862 boost the figure for the rest of Yorkshire. During this period (1860-64) they also picked up commissions throughout the country including two commissions in the Midlands in 1864. The last five years of the decade saw comparatively more work in West Yorkshire with a number of commissions for Titus Salt, and an increasing interest in London. 1870-74 was a leaner period with a greater reliance on Bradford-based work and a relative slump in commissions elsewhere in West Yorkshire. The final period before Lockwood's death saw a continued high workload in Bradford, a decreasing involvement elsewhere in West Yorkshire (due largely to the conclusion of work in Saltaire), but a marked increase in London work corresponding with Lockwood's exodus to the capital.

Throughout the entire thirty year period, Lockwood and Mawson were consistently involved in commissions in London, yet the vast majority of their commissions were within Bradford or West Yorkshire with a smaller number elsewhere in Yorkshire (particularly in the Hull area) or in the north. During the thirty year period, the only buildings designed by Lockwood and Mawson outside the north and London were commissions in Cheltenham and Kidderminster in 1864, and the competition wins in Nottingham and Dublin in the late 1870s. They did apparently also design industrial buildings in Germany, France and Belgium.

## **ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS**

Ecclesiastical building commissions provided an important backbone to the workload of Lockwood and Mawson, just as they had done during Lockwood's solo career. Clearly there was a great demand for such buildings as the Nonconformist religions grew from the 1840s and the Anglicans were forced to adapt their outdated administration and build new churches in the growing towns and cities to compete with the new religions. Consequently, although the first years of the practice in Bradford saw only one church commission for the restoration of an Anglican church at Guiseley just outside Bradford, once Lockwood and Mawson had



established their relationship with the Congregationalists by winning the competition to design a school at Lister Hills in Bradford, the number of commissions rose considerably, though initially, outside Bradford. 1860-4 were the most successful years for church building when nine churches were designed, two in Bradford, two successful competition wins for churches elsewhere in Yorkshire (in Snaith and Leeds), four other in North Yorkshire (the three virtually simultaneous commissions in Harrogate, and the Scarborough Congregational Church inspired by Titus Salt) and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in London's Warwick Gardens.

The next five years were less fruitful with just three church designs, none of them in Bradford, and one an unsuccessful competition entry. The two completed churches were the Baptist Church in Scarborough and Methodist Church in Saltaire. Five churches were designed between 1870-4, two in London including the prestigious City Temple, two other Congregational Churches at Lightcliffe and Morley in West Yorkshire and the Sion Baptist Church in Bradford. In the next five years, the practice was involved in three ecclesiastical commissions, all for buildings in Bradford, for the Society of Friends, the Anglicans and the Joint Stock Cemetery Company at Undercliffe.

In the thirty years after 1849, Lockwood and Mawson were involved in the design of 27 churches and chapels. Ten of these were for the Congregationalists, six for the Anglicans and five for the Methodists, four for the Baptists, one for the Society of Friends and also the provision of paired (Nonconformist and Anglican) mortuary chapels in the Undercliffe Cemetery.

## **RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS**

Lockwood and Mawson did not undertake a large number of commissions for the design of houses once the partnership moved to Bradford. One of these commissions however (divided into the four building phases for the purposes of this analysis) involved the construction of over 840 houses and shops at Saltaire and so dominates the period from 1851 until 1869

The residential commissions which they undertook can be neatly divided into three types. The first is the 'close of business' works carried out by the new partnership in the East Riding which were carried out either before they left for Bradford or were completed slightly later. Into this category fall the police houses at Sproatley and Welton. The second category covers the four housing phases for Titus Salt at Saltaire; and the third, the suburban and large residential commissions which they undertook for wealthy businessmen in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Compared with other building types, their domestic work was extremely localised with commissions restricted to Bradford and its surroundings and the earlier work in the East Riding.

Their residential commissions were spread fairly equally throughout the period from 1849 until 1869 during which time the four Saltaire housing phases had been completed. The two suburban house building ventures at Mornington Villas and Mount Royd both in Bradford were relatively early, whilst the private house commissions for wealthy industrialists dominate the period from 1865-9. After 1870, they undertook only one further residential commission at Oakbank in Keighley, though further housing commissions were undertaken by the practice after 1879.

The involvement with the housing at Saltaire must have placed a considerable strain on the workload of the practice up to 1869, and this may explain their relative lack of involvement in suburban housing developments which were important to many contemporary Bradford architects. It seems however that Lockwood and Mawson could afford to be selective in deciding their residential commissions and consequently they restricted their involvement to designs for large, quality houses usually for important Liberal Nonconformists. These were usually on the edge of Bradford as the very wealthy sought new locations for their private houses in out-of-town areas such as Apperley Bridge, Rawdon and Calverley which were by that time easily accessible to the very rich of Bradford and Leeds, but a far cry from the conditions in the centre of the two towns. Similarly, as Manningham became dominated by the middle classes, the very rich progressed further down Manningham Lane to Bingley and the rural areas around Keighley.



## **BUILDINGS ASSOCIATED WITH THE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY**

Bradford was the worsted capital of the world in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the majority of the most successful businessmen in the town were connected with the woollen industry in some way. Not surprisingly therefore, Lockwood and Mawson would be involved in a number of commissions connected with the trade though this was a consistent but steady rather than greatly productive involvement.

The huge mill at Saltaire was the first scheme undertaken, which together with the virtually contemporary palatial warehouse in central Bradford also for Salt undoubtedly acted as a marvellous advertisement for their talents. Surprisingly, considering the impact which Salt's Mill made Lockwood and Mawson only designed four further mills, with one of those being the new mill at Saltaire. Of the others, two were in Bradford, and the other, in Kidderminster, a commission contemporary with that for a gymnasium at Cheltenham College. It has also been suggested that Lockwood was responsible for the design of industrial works in Alsace, Asnieres near Paris, Dusseldorf and in Belgium though further details or precise dates are not known<sup>(1)</sup>. Given the number of foreign (particularly German) wool merchants who operated in Bradford, and the close links of these men with the continent, the opportunity to gain commissions abroad would obviously be relatively high.

Following Titus Salt's example, the Bradford wool merchants increasingly saw their buildings as an advertisement for the quality of the firm and the goods they produced and a market for the design of palatial warehouses particularly in Bradford's Little Germany developed. Lockwood and Mawson designed a number of these buildings, some of them exceptionally fine, and all in Bradford. They were not the most prolific designers of such buildings however, this distinction undoubtedly belonged to Eli Milnes who designed around thirty warehouses in Little Germany between 1852 and 1860 alone. <sup>(2)</sup> As with their domestic commissions, it seems that Lockwood and Mawson could afford to choose their commissions, and the warehouses they built tended to be the most palatial. They also of course designed the most exuberant 'warehouse' of all, the Wool Exchange which was largely a piece of collective self-advertisement by the Bradford woolmen.

The period 1875-9 saw a slight increase in activity by the architects in buildings for the woollen industry. This centred around Lockwood's commissions for the Merchant Taylors and Fore Street Company in London, and two very minor warehouse extensions in Little Germany. The latter reflect the lower-grade commissions which the architects took on after Lockwood's death and the closure of the London office. In this period they also designed further for T. Mills, who had been a consistent patron since the late 1850s as he sought to develop an area facing Church Bank in Bradford.

## **BANKS AND COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS**

- Bradford expanded considerably during the nineteenth century and the demand for commercial buildings, although subject to occasional slumps in the woollen trade, was high. The number of financial institutions in the city similarly increased rapidly in the second half of the century. Despite this, Lockwood and Mawson were not prodigious designers of banks, designing only six in the thirty years from 1849. This is probably explained by the fact that such institutions tended to be owned by the 'old money' of the town. These were invariably Anglican Tories such as the Harrises, and would not have been likely to invite the favourite architects of the Liberal Nonconformists to design buildings for them particularly after the Wool Exchange Competition in 1864. Consequently, Lockwood and Mawson designed only two banks in Bradford, both for the Yorkshire Banking Company for whom they also designed a similarly palatial structure on Hull's Whitefriargate shortly before Lockwood's death. Their other banks were in Leeds for the Leeds and County Bank in 1864, in Wakefield for the Wakefield and Barnsley Union Bank (apparently after a limited competition) in 1877, and in Boston for the Stamford, Spalding and Boston Banking Company in the previous year.

With the exception of the design of commercial buildings and shops in Kirkgate, Bradford, shortly after their arrival in the town and the work for John Crossley in Halifax, all Lockwood and Mawson's subsequent similar commissions were built from 1875-9. The London office was particularly active in this field, and Henry Lockwood designed two buildings for the Civil Service Supply Association and a range of shops and offices for Charles Meeking at Holborn Viaduct. In Bradford, the construction of the new Liberal Club in 1877 was part of a new



development of shops and commercial buildings, and similarly the new Union Club and the large Kirkgate Markets scheme completed in the same year involved substantial shop and office provision as part of the financial package for the development.

The relatively few designs for commercial buildings not connected with the woollen industry in Bradford may be explained in part by the fact that Lockwood had a vested interest being retained as an arbitrator to the Corporation on improvements to the streets and buildings in the town.<sup>(3)</sup> Just as the practice restricted their wool warehouse commissions to the most spectacular and prestigious, they similarly seem to have avoided commissions for other commercial buildings except when first establishing themselves in Bradford, and then in London as Lockwood sought to expand the practice in the capital. Their designs for large blocks of mixed-use commercial and public buildings, including the work for John Crossley in Halifax and those connected with the Kirkgate Market and Union and Liberal Club developments in Bradford were clearly large and lucrative.

## **HOTELS AND CLUBS**

Although Lockwood and Mawson designed the Victoria Hotel, the first large hotel of the railway era in Bradford in 1867, their other hotel interests were confined to London where they competed unsuccessfully in the St Pancras Hotel competition, before gaining the highly influential contract for the Inns of Court Hotel in the same year. All their involvement with the design of hotels was therefore confined to the period from 1865-7.

In the same period, they also designed the first club in Bradford on the town's Manor Row. Subsequently in 1877, they continued their monopoly on club designs in the town when they built both the Union and Liberal Clubs. They did not design any such buildings outside Bradford.

## **EXCHANGES AND MARKETS**

Lockwood and Mawson were highly competent designers of large public buildings and they

appear to have been particularly adept in the design of markets. Commissions for the design of such buildings were usually subject to architectural competitions, and Lockwood and Mawson entered these with consistent success. Shortly after the partnership had formed, Lockwood and Mawson successfully entered competitions for a Corn Exchange in Brigg and the rehashed markets competition in Hull. Both entries were successful, though the farcical Hull competition was ultimately scrapped.

The partnership entered the Leeds Corn Exchange Competition in 1860 and were placed third behind Cuthbert Brodrick and William Hill of Leeds.<sup>(4)</sup> They were of course more successful in the Bradford Wool Exchange Competition four years later. By the 1870s, they had clearly established themselves as the leading market designers in the town gaining commissions for the St James Wholesale Market and Kirkgate Market in Bradford; the latter included the first phase of the Rawson Markets. Their fame ultimately spread to Dublin when they were victorious in the City Markets scheme in June 1878, weeks before Lockwood's death.

## **SCHOOLS AND EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS**

The demand for educational buildings saw an upsurge in the 1870s after the reformer and Bradford Member of Parliament W. E. Forster introduced the Education Act (in 1870) which established school boards throughout the country. The Liberal newspaper, the *Bradford Observer* was in the vanguard of support for educational reform although Forster's views had initially not been supported by Bradford's Liberals;

‘Let us in the name of God endeavour to give the working classes an aristocracy of intellect and merit by fully recognising in our national system of education the republicanism of talent and the right of every man to an open career.’<sup>(5)</sup>

Bradford then was at the forefront of educational reform in the country, and was the first to introduce secondary education in 1876. Before that, education had largely been provided by churches, or had been available to working people only through the Mechanics Institutes.

Lockwood and Mawson were of course handily placed to gain commissions for educational buildings. Their work at Saltaire would gain them three commissions for educational



buildings, and Salt's friend John Crossley also commissioned them to design a Mechanics Institute as part of his central redevelopment scheme in Halifax. Their links with the Congregationalists meant contracts for the Lister Hills School and Airedale College, and like most of the leading Bradford architects they obtained welcome commissions from the School Board at a time when other contracts were hard to find in the slump of the mid 1870s.

Their commissions therefore are localised geographically to the Bradford area with three obvious exceptions, two of them in the late 1870s. One of these was the provision of a large school for the Merchant Taylors on Merseyside; a commission presumably gained following Lockwood's design of new buildings for the company in London and the links between the company and the Bradford woolmen, and the other for the new Nottingham University which was completed after Lockwood's death. The earlier exception was the provision of a new Gymnasium at Cheltenham in 1864 when at least one of the partners appears to have worked temporarily in the West Midlands possibly in the aftermath of the Bradford Exchange Competition.

## **HOSPITALS AND WORKHOUSES**

Lockwood in his solo career (and partnership with Thomas Allom) had established himself as a highly competent designer of workhouses and it is not surprising that one of the first designs of the new partnership with William Mawson would be in the Bradford Workhouse competition. The 'winning' of this important competition established them in Bradford where they subsequently designed the North Bierley Workhouse in 1855 and the Eye and Ear Hospital in 1864. Their only failure in a Bradford architectural competition came four years later when beaten in the Bradford House of Recovery Competition.

Their most prolific spell of workhouse and hospital successes came in an eleven year period from 1851 to 1862 when they designed at least six buildings and were involved in design competitions for two others. With the exception of the Carlisle Workhouse, all the successes were in Yorkshire - in the towns of Hull, Barnsley, Dewsbury, Bradford and Penistone. It seems very likely that their Haslingden Workhouse, just over the border in East Lancashire,

was built slightly later. The two competition entries were both in Leeds, for the workhouse in 1858 (when they were placed second), and the General Infirmary in 1861 which they won though their design was not built. The final hospital building designed by Lockwood and Mawson was in Saltaire in 1868, and they may also have designed the Sailors' Orphanage in Hull in the mid-1850s which was founded following a benefaction by Titus Salt. Their interest in workhouse designs appears to have waned in the late 1860s and their final involvement with such a building was when invited to compete in the Burnley Workhouse Competition in 1871 though they were not premiated.

## **TOWN HALLS**

Lockwood and Mawson entered four competitions for the design of new town halls between 1849 and 1869 though their successes were restricted to Bradford where they designed the St Georges Hall and Town Hall itself. The partnership was beaten into second place by Lockwood's former pupil Cuthbert Brodrick in the competitions at Leeds and Hull and they do not appear to have entered competitions for such buildings in neighbouring towns. They did, of course, design a new town hall for Halifax as part of John Crossley's redevelopment scheme though this was not built.

## **OTHER BUILDINGS**

Like many contemporary architects, Lockwood and Mawson were willing to try their hands at the design of a range of buildings. They entered the Great Exhibition Competition in 1850 (together with 239 other applicants), and were placed second in the Government Competition for the design of an Infantry Barracks in London six years later. This may have led to a commission in the same year for the design of a Rifle Factory at Enfield Lock. They also were invited to enter the Law Courts Competition in London in 1866, without success.

For Titus Salt they provided a workers' dining room and railway station, among the earliest buildings in Saltaire once the mill had been completed, and provided a range of tea rooms, bandstands and park shelters in the town's Robert Park. Lockwood and Mawson, not



surprisingly given their association with him, were also the architects of the memorial to Titus Salt erected outside Bradford Town Hall in 1873. Such buildings were not unique in the catalogue of Lockwood and Mawson's work as they erected a clock tower at Airmyn in 1865 and a drinking fountain in Bradford's Peel Park in 1870.

The partnership is also credited with the design of a theatre on Great George Street in Leeds in 1861, their only such building. This may not be improbable however, as by then they were accomplished designers of performance halls, and their huge chapels were internally extremely similar to auditoria.

## **SOME KEY THEMES**

Lockwood and Mawson were highly productive almost from their arrival in Bradford until a year or so after Lockwood's death when the practice quite clearly went into something of a decline. Their output was at times quite prodigious particularly bearing in mind the large and complex commissions at Saltaire, the important commissions for public buildings in Bradford and their willingness to enter design competitions for buildings in the north. Another important aspect is the eye which the practice cast even in its earliest years over the capital. Although the entry in the Great Exhibition contest in 1850 can be seen in hindsight as something of a pipe-dream, Lockwood and Mawson were entering more realistic competitions in London from the mid-1850s, and maintained a workload in the capital throughout the following 25 years culminating in the establishment of an office there.

In the last five years of the 1870s, the importance of commissions in London grew, and this may have been allied to an attempt to give the practice a more national profile with entries in competitions outside their normal spheres of influence in Nottingham and Dublin. This attempted spread of the practice seems to have ended abruptly in the aftermath of Lockwood's death.

With the exception of their interest in the capital however, Lockwood and Mawson were happy to restrict their work to Bradford and the surrounding towns. This of course gave them

considerable scope as West Yorkshire was a hugely expanding area. They also were happy to accept work in North Yorkshire with Harrogate and Scarborough being especially popular, as they were with the West Yorkshire industrialists who frequented the popular spa towns. The designs of workhouses and chapels (often won in design competitions) took them occasionally slightly further afield into the borders with Lancashire, towns today in South Yorkshire or up to Cumbria yet all were within relatively easy striking distance of Bradford. The partnership also seems to have maintained its contact with Hull, and commissions in the East Yorkshire port continued even after Lockwood's death.

The commissions in West Yorkshire warrant further comment. Clearly Bradford formed the nucleus of the partnership's work and this included work just outside the borough (including Saltaire) as wealthy industrialists moved into less crowded parts of the county. Despite the rivalry between the two towns, Lockwood and Mawson were quite active in Leeds. Although they were not successful in the Town Hall and Corn Exchange competitions, they did win the General Infirmary competition though their design was not built and the site of the building changed. They were similarly successful in the competition for the design of a Baptist Chapel, though again this was not built, and they built one of their few banks and a range of commercial buildings in the City. Their success in Leeds is in stark contrast to that of Leeds architects in Bradford. In the years when Lockwood and Mawson were at their most productive in Bradford, the only Leeds architect who gained a commission of any note was George Corson who designed a warehouse in Little Germany in 1870. Lockwood and Mawson also gained commissions in the other West Yorkshire towns. In Halifax, these were largely thanks to the patronage by John Crossley, whilst in Wakefield they designed a house and a bank. Only in Huddersfield did they not design buildings, this probably being due to the relatively slower growth and subsequent lower demand for buildings there.

Ecclesiastical buildings and workhouses were the mainstay of their commissions though they were also successful designers of buildings associated with education. These included college buildings and mechanics' institutes together with schools as the requirements for educational provision for children increased after 1870. There were great similarities in the planning of workhouse and educational buildings, the most significant being the segregation



of the sexes and infants, and the architects obviously felt comfortable with the design of all buildings of this type. Interestingly the involvement in workhouse commissions dried up just as the commissions for educational buildings increased. From the competitions listed in *The Builder*, this was clearly a national trend, as whilst 82 workhouse competitions were listed in the journal between 1845 and 1870, only 28 were mentioned over the following 25 years whilst a reverse of this trend was not surprisingly evident in the design of school buildings.<sup>(6)</sup>

Houses were a constant source of work, though it seems clear that the architects only built for their rich industrialist acquaintances. This seems to have been part of a trend by the architects to specialise in the most prestigious buildings in the 1860s and early 1870s when a similar trend is evident in their designs of warehouse buildings. The bulk of housing commissions were left to architects such as John Simpson (1809-71), and the early careers of T.C. Hope (1834-1916) and James Ledingham (1840-1926). Undoubtedly the leading purveyor of Bradford Warehouses was Eli Milnes (1830-99) and his partner (after 1863) Charles France (1833-1902).

The slump in Bradford trade in the 1870s encouraged Henry Lockwood to operate from the London office. This appears to have been quite a successful move and the practice enjoyed a healthy spread of different types of commission, though some of the commissions for warehouses and commercial buildings were perhaps less prestigious than those they had enjoyed in earlier years. The increase in commissions for banks, clubs and markets together with a continuing high workload in the design of churches and educational buildings made the last five years of the 1870s arguably the most successful of their partnership. This success however appears to have ended abruptly after the commissions gained shortly before the death of Lockwood were completed.

## CHAPTER 6: BUILDING PLANNING

### INTRODUCTION

The popularity of the buildings of Lockwood and Mawson and their consistent success in design competitions can be in part explained by the commonsense planning of their buildings and the related cost efficiency. In their first competition entry in Bradford, the layout of the Bradford Workhouse was clearly the determining factor in the choice of a plan, not the elevational treatment of its exterior. Lockwood's annoyance with the Poor Law Inspector and attempts to demonstrate that his building was easily capable of expansion demonstrate the care with which the practice considered the efficiency of their buildings.

This skill was tested further in the designs for the mill at Saltaire. This was the largest purpose-built industrial concern of its day, yet Lockwood and Mawson had never previously designed an industrial building of any kind. Undoubtedly they were advised by Titus Salt as to the processes involved in the manufacture of worsted cloth, and by William Fairbairn in fireproof construction techniques, yet the planning of the building and the integration of various safety features required the skill of the architects. The integration of practical features such as the toilets and staircases into towers, and the use of these as decorative elements in the building in particular show that in the buildings for Titus Salt the architects were keen to ensure that practicality of use and aesthetics were not mutually exclusive .

It is clear that by the 1870s, Lockwood and Mawson's reputation for designing large buildings such as town halls and markets was established and their success in the Dublin Markets limited competition, the assessor for which was Alfred Waterhouse (himself of course with the reputation for being one of the era's most practical architects), is indicative of the popularity of the practice shortly before Lockwood's death. One of the largest problems of designing buildings with a large square plan was the need to provide sufficient light into the inner corridors and rooms. The developing iron and glass manufacturing techniques meant that lanterns and rooflights were used for such purposes, and Lockwood and Mawson were confident in their use not just in markets but also in other large public buildings such as



Lockwood's Law Courts design and the Bradford Town Hall. The same principle was used in the Saltaire Congregational Sunday Schools where the main hall was top-lit and surrounded by classrooms which had windows in the outer walls. When the principle was used in designs for large public buildings, courts or Council chambers could be surrounded by a ring of offices strategically placed to keep different uses or even different types of people segregated from each other.

This principle was also one of great importance in the design of workhouses, hospitals and buildings for education. In the latter, the sexes and infants were generally kept apart, whilst in the others, different sexes and ages, vagrants, the contagious and those mentally ill all had their own wards, day rooms, yards and washing facilities, connected to separate entrances into communal areas such as chapel and dining room (which were often the same room).

Lockwood and Mawson do not appear to have endlessly varied the plans of buildings once they had devised a sensible plan form. Consequently there appears to have been virtually a stock plan for workhouses and great similarities between the different mills, schools and churches which they designed. Certain aspects of the internal planning, for example the grouping of toilets in an attached tower was used not just in mill buildings, but also when planning hospitals and workhouses.

## **ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS**

The nature of worship in Nonconformist Chapels made the planning of them a relatively straightforward matter. Unlike the more ritualistic nature of the higher-church Anglican ceremony, the Nonconformist church or chapel was internally focussed on the pulpit, and therefore the major requirement was that all the seats had to have a clear view of this centrepiece. In plan terms this meant that the building could be a relatively plain box, uncluttered by side aisles or chancel arches, and it is no coincidence that the interiors of many nineteenth century chapels were extremely similar to theatres or music halls as the requirements were virtually identical. Galleries, often arranged in a horseshoe-shape, further emphasised the allusion.

The early chapels built by Lockwood and Mawson followed this precedent of a simple rectangular plan. The Stanningley Congregational Church (55), one of the first of their chapels built after the move to Bradford, is a simple box with an entrance in one end and most of the external decoration applied to the front facade. This chapel was unusual amongst the early chapel commissions after the move to Bradford, however, being Gothic in style. Most of the other chapels were Classical with many modelled on the templar plan which Lockwood had used to great effect in Hull. This plan was of course ideal for Nonconformist worship and when the budget was tight the street front could be elaborately detailed with the sides left relatively plain. The Providence Place Chapel in Cleckheaton (61, lxvi) illustrates this perfectly with its splendid arcaded front on the main Bradford Road, yet decoration on the side elevations is restricted to the window surrounds with walls of brick rather than stone. The Horton Lane Congregational Church (71, lxvii), again designed to make a huge architectural statement to the street, had plain sides and was basically a rectangular box on plan. Even the grander churches of the 1870s which Lockwood and Mawson designed, such as the City Temple in London (132, lxviii) and the Sion Baptist Church in Bradford (127, lxix), followed the basic temple form with a simple interior, and plain sides no matter how lavish the principal front was. The Oxford Road Methodist Church in Harrogate, Snaith Wesleyan Methodist Church, Saltaire Methodist Church and Friends Meeting House in Bradford were also variations on the same theme.

The large 'preaching boxes' had to accommodate a huge number of people however, with most churches designed by Lockwood and Mawson accommodating 700-1000 worshippers, and up to 2,500 in the case of the City Temple. To get so many people in would mean a huge floor area making it impossible for many to see and hear the activities in the pulpit. Providing galleries would solve this problem, raising the capacity of the building whilst obviating the need for a large floor area and high construction costs. The development of the iron industry meant that slender cast iron columns to support the tiered galleries would not block the view of those on the ground floor. Generally the galleries were restricted to the end opposite to the pulpit, though in later chapels where even greater numbers were to be catered for, horseshoe-shaped raking galleries were provided, giving the interior the appearance of a theatre.



The entrance to the churches was naturally in the principal front, and inevitably a vestibule rather than an external porch was provided to act as a draught lobby. This also gave the opportunity to provide stairs to the galleries without affecting the exterior and without losing space from the nave of the church. In the more ornate Horton Lane Chapel and City Temple the staircases were housed in the towers and became ornamental features in the same way as the towers on Lockwood and Mawson's workhouse or mill buildings.

The Nonconformist Religions saw themselves as having a wide social role in the growing towns and cities, and education was seen as an important aspect of their work. Consequently, school rooms were an important adjunct to many of the Nonconformist churches which Lockwood and Mawson designed. This of course generated the problem of accommodating such rooms without losing worship space and without adding substantially to the building costs. Only in rare cases where finances were not a problem could a separate school be provided, and therefore only Saltaire and Horton Lane provided examples of this. The usual solution to the school room problem was to set them beneath the main body of the church. When the site was sloping such as at Cleckheaton or in the case of the City Temple, this was relatively straightforward. It was more problematic when the site was flat such as the Wesleyan Chapel on Harrogate's Oxford Street (78, lxx). The temple form however was ideal for such purposes, as the building could be set on a base to allow school rooms beneath and have the additional advantage of giving the building even greater presence on the street. This principle was one which Lockwood had established during his practice in Hull with the designs of the Great Thornton Street and Albion Street Chapels.

The only Classical design which does not easily fit the standard pattern of Lockwood and Mawson's other box-like interiors is the Congregational Church at Saltaire (67, xliv). The entrance portico at the east end was unique though Providence Place Church at Cleckheaton had an open arcade serving the same purpose. The nave was however a simple rectangle just like the other Classical designs except for the organ apse behind the pulpit at the west end, and the mausoleum attached to the south side. Beside the apse was a staircase down to the basement vestries which the sloping site allowed. At the east end, a small gallery was provided within an arch facing the organ apse. This was not intended to increase the capacity



of the church, as was the case in the majority of other chapels, but merely to provide a private gallery for members of the Salt family.

Even in such lavish examples of Lockwood and Mawson's Classical chapels, the constituent parts of simple nave, galleries and underground accommodation were generally provided. The fact that the basic requirements of a Nonconformist Congregation were so easily accommodated within Classical designs was without doubt a contributory factor to the endurance of such forms throughout the nineteenth century. Yet Nonconformist Churches, despite the associations with Anglicanism, did begin to favour Gothic designs generally to show that the Established Church did not have a monopoly on taste and to demonstrate their equal status in nineteenth century society.

Lockwood and Mawson therefore had to develop a plan form which embraced the Gothic style but was equally convenient for the worshippers. Their early chapels, such as at Stanningley and the Warwick Gardens Methodist Church in London (81, lxxi), were really simple rectangles to which Gothic external features were applied (identical in inspiration to the Anglican Chapel which Lockwood had designed as a chapel of ease for Beverley Minster). The Warwick Gardens Church was more sophisticated in having a south-west corner tower just as Lockwood had included on his St Mark's and St Stephen's churches in Hull. Unlike the Stanningley church, it also had side aisles, but internally the galleries and school rooms in the basement would also have been found in the architects' contemporary Classical designs.

Although slightly earlier, the Victoria Avenue Congregational Church in Harrogate (77, lxxii) was a more sophisticated Gothic design. The asymmetrically placed south-west tower was similar in concept to Warwick Gardens, but this was partly balanced by an apse on the south east wall which housed a gallery staircase. Although the nave remained basically rectangular as in the Classical designs, externally the impact of the large volume was broken up by six cross gables giving a rhythmic character to the prominent side elevation. This unusual feature was curiously used by Brodrick on the side elevation of his Headingley Hill Chapel in Leeds which was commenced two years later.<sup>(1)</sup>



In 1864, the model of the Victoria Avenue church was further adapted in the designs of the Ramshill Road Congregational Church in Scarborough (91, lxxiii, lxxiv). This was a much larger structure on an important site on the South Cliff, and the security of a correspondingly larger budget (much of it provided by Titus Salt) appears to have allowed the architects the freedom to produce a much more convincing Gothic structure. The tower was this time positioned in the south east corner, where it could form the dominant feature along Ramshill Road and the adjoining streets which linked to the Esplanade. Just as in the Victoria Avenue church at Harrogate, the tower was balanced by an apse at the opposite corner which accommodated the staircase to the gallery. The principal entrance was through the end of the gable (again like Harrogate) and an internal vestibule protected the nave from the outside in typical fashion. The Ramshill Road church also had a secondary entrance through the base of the tower. The major difference between the Scarborough and Harrogate churches however was the addition of side aisles and transepts in the former. The addition of aisles of course created a problem for the internal design of Nonconformist churches as the arcades would potentially block the views of the pulpit. Lockwood and Mawson overcame this problem by using the side aisles basically as access corridors, and continuous rows of pews, with no central aisle, ran the width of the nave. The original plans do show some narrow rows of pews beyond the aisles, though only when the church was extremely full would such seating have been used, as further seats were provided in the transepts and gallery. The organ was located in an apse behind the pulpit on the submitted plan,<sup>(2)</sup> with vestries and a secondary entrance at the north end. As built, school rooms and other church offices were added at the north end.

This design was replicated, almost precisely, when Lockwood and Mawson designed the Lightcliffe Congregational Church for Titus Salt in 1870 (115, lxxv). The corner steeple (now in the south west corner to face the road), high nave and single storey aisles are identical, as was the original pew arrangement with access corridors down the two aisles but no central aisle. The principal differences were the entrances to the Lightcliffe church which were in the base of the tower and via a porch into the north aisle, and the height of the transept roofs which were much lower than at Scarborough.



This plan form was further modified four years later in 1874, when Lockwood and Mawson were chosen to rebuild the Congregational Church of St Mary in the Wood at Morley (131, lxxvi). As at Scarborough and Lightcliffe, there was a corner steeple and high, wide nave and aisles though these were in the same plane as the nave roof. To ensure the interior was light and airy, 'the centre bays of the nave ...higher than the other arches, and the windows on each side [were] so disposed as to shed a flood of light into the church'.<sup>(3)</sup> As at Scarborough, galleries for additional accommodation were also provided. The entrance was through the west end of the gable (like Scarborough and Harrogate before it) rather than the base of the tower at Lightcliffe. Similarly as at Scarborough, the tower was balanced by an apse housing the gallery staircase. The transepts were lower than the main nave roof as in the Lightcliffe model.

These 'super chapels' were all built for the Congregationalists, but Lockwood and Mawson did also produce an equally fine Gothic church for the Baptists in Scarborough. The church on Albemarle Crescent (100, lxxvii) was in a highly fashionable part of the town, and the congregation required a suitably ostentatious church. The plan form has great similarities with the Congregationalist 'super chapels' with a corner steeple balanced by a staircase apse, though the base of the tower also included a staircase giving access to the galleries. The principal entrance was through the gable end into the vestibule, as at Harrogate, Scarborough and Morley. The nave had side aisles but the problem of the restricted view was overcome by the use of slender cast iron columns supporting the light open timber roof. A chancel arch faced the opening, but within the chancel was the baptismal font. This area, which had been reserved for the organ in the Congregationalist chapels meant that the organ was located at the end of the aisle, whilst the end of the opposite aisle had an arched doorway through to vestries, and subsequently school rooms.

The later Gothic church designs produced by Lockwood and Mawson illustrate how well they were able to adapt the Anglican parish church form and make it wholly usable for Nonconformist worship. Their churches were functional not just decorative, and they clearly followed the principle that 'our churches should be fitted for their destined use. It is not enough that they *can* be used, in spite of their inconvenience, for Protestant worship'.<sup>(4)</sup>



## MILL AND WAREHOUSE BUILDINGS

The design of buildings associated with the woollen industry brought a new challenge to Henry Lockwood who had not been involved in the design of manufacturing buildings before. Although William Mawson may have gained some experience whilst serving his articles, the fact was that few factory or warehouse buildings had any architectural pretension in the first half of the nineteenth century. Despite this lack of experience, their first commission for a manufacturing building, the mill at Saltaire (44, xxxix, xl) would, by the time it was completed, contain 11.5 acres of floor area with two pairs of steam engines producing 1250 horse power<sup>(5)</sup> and powering 1200 looms at a time when the largest mills in the area had only 600-700 looms. At its peak, Saltaire Mills employed 3,200 people and was said to produce 30,000 yards of cloth per day.<sup>(6)</sup>

The design of the mill showed an intimate knowledge of the workings of the worsted industry, and was undoubtedly strongly influenced by the ideas of Titus Salt. The spine of the mill was a large five-storey warehouse 25 bays long with an end block at right angles to the rest which had the loading doors directly onto the Leeds - Liverpool Canal. The wool and hair were sorted in the warehouse before being carried into the adjacent western shed to be washed, dried and finally combed. The mill proper was at the opposite end of the warehouse to the canal and formed a 'T' shape with the warehouse. This was also five storeys high but had, in addition, a basement which was used for spinning, whilst warping and weaving were carried out in the second (eastern) shed. The original complex was completed by a range of offices which ran parallel with the lane down from the main road (which would become Victoria Road). Dying was not carried out at the works until 1871 after Lockwood and Mawson had designed the New Mill which was constructed on the opposite bank of the canal (between it and the River).

The sheer size of Saltaire Mill meant that the repetition of a large number of bays was inevitable. The architects managed to keep the numbers in manageable proportions, so avoiding monotonous repetition by increasing the standard bay size. The Saltaire bays of 10m x 5.8m were four times larger than in mills of only ten to fifteen years earlier, and were

still large in comparison with mills of the early twentieth century.<sup>(7)</sup> This technological advance was made possible by the adoption of Sir William Fairbairn's fire-proof construction techniques which involved hollow bricks to improve ventilation whilst reducing the weight of the arched ceilings.

Salt obviously played a major part in the building design, and in particular took opportunities to improve safety and reduce pollution. The boiler house was therefore detached, with one giant flue 250 feet high. The boilers were sunk below ground to allow the tipping of coal directly from an adjacent railway siding. The chimney was fitted with 'Green and Twibell's Patent Fuel Economisers' which helped to reduce 'annoying effluvium',<sup>(8)</sup> and as reported in *The Builder* 'the architects are enjoined to use every precaution to prevent the pollution of the air by smoke, or the water by sewerage or other impurity.'<sup>(9)</sup> This was particularly important when considering that Saltaire Mill produced more power than the output of all the remaining water-powered mills in the entire textile district put together.<sup>(10)</sup> The gas-works were for similar reasons to be designed upon 'White's hydrocarbonic system'.<sup>(11)</sup> Presumably both Salt and Fairbairn were keen to reduce the chance of accidents within the mill, and so the drive shafts were hidden within the floor structure, with linkages from floor to floor through specially designed holes in the brick vaulted floors.

Despite the hand of both Salt and Fairbairn in the designs, the architects still clearly enjoyed considerable freedom and responsibility for the design and construction of the building. This included coordinating the huge army of contractors which resulted from Salt's decision to let fixed price contracts for the building work. It also seems likely that Lockwood and Mawson had the idea of forming the mill in the shape of a 'T' for Titus,<sup>(12)</sup> though using this as the spine was perfectly efficient use of the space and allowed a long principal elevation of 545ft to the railway. By running the office range parallel to the warehouse spine, this gave the opportunity for another principal facade to the road and kept the ancillary accommodation away from the main bulk of the manufacturing area.

The main frontage of the mill was designed to face the railway, and it was clearly intended to be an important advertisement for the firm. The huge elevation was sixty bays long and



totally symmetrical, with the middle fifth housing the majority of the decoration and the two squared towers with belvederes and two adjoining three-bay projections which housed the high arched windows to allow views of the huge steam engines. In between the towers and engine rooms were six central bays which at ground floor level had three segmental-headed carriage entrances. The towers housed the toilets, with similar facilities in the slightly projecting end bays of the facade. The roof structure was remarkably advanced with cast iron struts with wrought iron rods which, unlike the floors below, did not require decorative cast iron columns for support. The resultant huge undivided space was considered to be the largest 'room' in the world at that time.<sup>(13)</sup>

The warehouse, which was only easily visible from within the mill complex, was 25 bays long and lacked the architectural pretension of the more visible parts of the complex. In the roof was hidden a 70,000 gallon water tank indicating the immense strength of the structure below. Beneath the eastern shed, which was used for weaving, was another reservoir capable of holding half a million gallons which was intended to store rainwater collected from the roofs<sup>(14)</sup>. This block was four storeys high and 23 bays long, whilst the opposite combing shed was one bay shorter and single storey. Both had roofs designed to take advantage of north light. Attached to the east elevation of the combing shed were washing, drying and picking rooms and the packing room housed in a four storey block. The opposite end of the spine to the main mill itself was a five-storey block of twelve bays long and six deep which faced the canal and so contained the loading bays.

Unlike other branches of the textile industry, the worsted mill needed two blocks of sheds, one for combing and one for weaving. Yet Lockwood and Mawson's design meant that the raw material could be transformed into cloth in a smooth and efficient way with the minimum of handling within the building. The building was the leading 'manufactory' of its day, 'the perfect illustration of planned integration, comprehending not only the processes within the complex but also the relationship of the mill to its surroundings.'<sup>(15)</sup>

The Saltaire Mill was clearly a marvellous advertisement of Lockwood and Mawson's competence in the design of large manufacturing buildings, and within three years of its

completion, they had been commissioned by the Government to build a rifle factory at Enfield Lock in London. It would be a further two years however (in 1858), before the practice was commissioned to build its next mill for James Drummond on Bradford's Lumb Lane (65, lxxviii). This too was a large complex, though not by Saltaire standards. It was completed in 1861 and comprised a three storey warehouse, five storey spinning mill, three storey spinning shed, engine house and chimney. The warehouse block fronted Lumb Lane to make an appropriately prestigious statement, and was linked behind by the spinning shed to the five storey block which was itself linked to the three storey engine house. The octagonal coronet chimney with its console bracketed crown was the principal feature of the building. Projecting stair towers with belvederes and spiky pyramidal roofs in the Saltaire fashion were also provided. The building followed the 'fire-proof' building techniques of Salt's Mill with cast iron columns and double skin floors, though it (like many Bradford mills) used timber for the roof structure. In this case, a sophisticated system of elliptical arched laminated trusses allowed the roof space to be used as a huge and extraordinarily elegant wool-sorting room.<sup>(16)</sup> In 1869, Lockwood and Mawson added another seven storey warehouse to the complex (111). This large impressive building was 237ft long and 55ft wide with the same belvedere stair and toilet towers and fireproof construction of the original mill.

The practice's only other Bradford mill was the Legrams Mill, built in 1873 for George Hodgson (129). Hodgson was a loom manufacturer of some renown and success, and the original plans were very ambitious and intended to provide large combing and weaving sheds, a warehouse and a six-storey mill.<sup>(17)</sup> This integrated mill was clearly modelled on Saltaire, but unfortunately a slump in the fortunes of traditional Bradford cotton-warp worsted fabrics curtailed the plans and the weaving shed was never built, the mill left as a shell, and the warehouse converted to spinning mill with combing carried out in the attached shed. The mill had a fine 26 bay elevation to Legrams Lane which was again enhanced by projecting staircase towers capped by squat pyramidal roofs above belvederes. Like Drummond's Mill there was a notable coronet chimney with decorative elements.

The practice's only other mill in England was an extensive worsted mill in Kidderminster for



Thomas Lea built in 1864 (87). This was a four-storeyed mill with attached warehouses and a 180 feet high chimney. This seems to have been a particularly large venture (costing some £50,000 to build), and the extensiveness of the accommodation probably indicates that the owner had seen Saltaire and persuaded the architects to design for him. An interesting comparison with Saltaire is the provision of the dining room which clearly impressed the local newspaper which reported that 'there is also a dining hall for the use of the workpeople, 57 feet long by 26 feet wide wherein those who choose will take their meals at proper hours, instead of sitting here and there amongst the machinery as the workpeople at many factories do'.<sup>(18)</sup>

Despite the fame which Lockwood and Mawson acquired after the design of the Saltaire complex, they were not prolific designers of mill buildings, though the ones they undertook tended to be the most prestigious. Their fame appears to have spread to the continent however and they are credited with the design of industrial concerns in Alsace, Asnieres near Paris, Dusseldorf and in Belgium.<sup>(19)</sup> Such commissions presumably came about because of their links with the foreign (particularly German) wool merchants who operated in Bradford.

Just as Lockwood and Mawson appear to have restricted their commissions for wool mills to the largest and most prestigious concerns, they were similarly selective when considering works for the design of wool warehouses. Consequently their commissions tend to be restricted to a few select clients and the buildings only the most showy and elaborate.

In the design of warehouses, Lockwood and Mawson could draw on a tradition which had developed since the 1820s when the Cheapside area of Bradford developed as a mercantile warehouse precinct.<sup>(20)</sup> Warehouses tended to be multi-storey with the ground floor occupied by the 'Grey Room' where undyed cloth was checked, whilst storage and counters for different cloths were provided on the floors above with the upper floor reserved for checking large pieces of cloth. A large archway for carts, with huge gates opening on to a concealed inner yard where goods were loaded and unloaded away from prying eyes, was also a feature of the warehouses which, due to the awkward nature of the sites, were always timber framed in Bradford as standardised construction using iron or steel was impossible.<sup>(21)</sup>

The major boost to warehouse building came in the 1840s with the development of the railways which allowed businessmen to travel to Bradford from up to eighty miles away to trade and return home in the same day. The limited nature of Lockwood and Mawson's involvement in warehouse designs is demonstrated by the fact that between 1850 and 1870 they designed only two warehouses, one for Titus Salt and one for T. Mills, during an era when over 800 mills and warehouses were constructed in the town.<sup>(22)</sup>

The nature of the Bradford terrain meant that flat sites outside the limited space of the valley bottom on which the major public buildings were erected were few and far between and the later warehouse precincts tended to be found on the sloping sites on the edge of the centre. The warehouse which Lockwood and Mawson designed for Titus Salt in 1853 (49), being one of the first *palazzo* warehouses in Bradford, did enjoy a flat level site as did the Milligan and Forbes warehouse designed at roughly the same time by Andrews and Delaunay. Whereas the site for the Milligan and Forbes building was a rectangle, and the building could be symmetrically designed, the Salt Warehouse was on a curving corner site. The resultant canted corner was therefore the natural focus for the entrance. As the main front of the building faced the important Leeds Road, the building was strongly detailed along its facade with a strong plinth, arcaded upper storey and deep overhanging cornice.

Lockwood and Mawson's two remaining and therefore better-known warehouses were both in the Little Germany complex of warehouses which developed from 1856 until the early 1870s. The name derived from the mass of German merchants who operated from the area following the French Commercial Treaty of 1860 which opened up trade with the continent and beyond. The area became the fashionable commercial area in the 1860s and early 1870s, and the merchants clearly sought to build the most lavish warehouses as advertisements for their firms. The warehouses for the American and Chinese Export Company (118, lxxix) and Messrs. Law Russell and Co. (126, lxxx), built in 1871 and 1873 respectively and both designed by Lockwood and Mawson, were the two most palatial buildings in the precinct.

The site for these outstanding warehouses did not easily lend itself to the erection of high quality buildings. The whole area was on a very steep slope, and the criss-cross of roads



meant that many of the best sites were triangular. The shape of the site and steep slope did not suit Classically inspired and symmetrically designed buildings, yet the Italianate style (with a growing French influence) was *de rigueur* amongst the Bradford merchants.

This potential problem necessitated considerable skill by the architects to produce a convincing building, which was functional yet suitably opulent. In the design of both their Little Germany warehouses, the architects treated the canted corner as the focus for much of the architectural decoration. This made good sense, as the corner housed the main door by which potential customers entered the building. The corner was also the most visible part of the building, being on a junction and further emphasised by the sloping nature of the streets. The sides of the buildings were still treated in an ornamental way, but with the amount of decoration decreasing with the height of the building in the case of the American and Chinese Export Company warehouse. Here, the lowest storey was treated as a base with a *piano nobile* above. This allowed the sloping site to be accounted for by modifying the proportions of the plinth rather than interfering with the more lavish decoration to the more important rooms above.

The Law Russell Warehouse illustrates even more the exceptional talent of the architects in producing a highly workable but extraordinarily lavish building. The site for the building was particularly awkward (as could be expected of one of the last developable sites in the precinct) with a steep slope and a quadrant-shaped site. One of the facades was to a minor street and so the majority of the decoration was again restricted to the canted entrance corner which was highly visible. This was treated as a pavilion, with coupled Corinthian columns, superimposed one on top of the other for five storeys. To make the effect even more dramatic, the perspective was exaggerated by reducing the heights of the columns in the successive stages.

On the face of it, this could be considered a piece of sheer architectural extravagance planted onto a relatively plain warehouse. In fact it was an exceptional piece of planning. The portico housed the main staircase; the space being only 21 feet wide would therefore have been useless for any other function. This was a common position for stairs in the Little

Germany warehouses and in this case meant the stair could be top-lit by a 'Second Empire' dome which crowned the front pavilion. This warehouse was one of the last to be squeezed into Little Germany in one of its boom periods. Land prices therefore meant it was important to obtain as much accommodation as possible and the building therefore had seven storeys. The architects clearly realised that the proportions of a seven stage pavilion would be unbearably fussy, and so they built it with just five stages. This of course left the problem of marrying the two together when the pavilion was only one bay deep. This they achieved in part by lighting the uppermost storey from above rather than from windows in the elevation. Although this left an area of blank masonry, this was articulated by replicating the cill band of the other floors and providing a cornice even heavier than normal. The ground floor was also modified by being raised up eight steps from the level of the entrance. Rather than being treated as a *piano nobile* (as with the American and Chinese Export Warehouse) this was to enable windows into the semi-sunk basement to be provided without compromising the proportions of the building and its relationship to the entrance pavilion.

As in the majority of their buildings, Lockwood and Mawson were conscious of the need to provide as much natural light to the interior as possible. The building therefore had two lightwells in addition to the stair. One was above the enclosed internal yard which was topped by a large lantern and had windows from the upper floors looking into it. Another smaller well was provided roughly equidistant between the yard and stair wells. This operated in the same way and was faced with white tiles to reflect light. This practice was unique to Lockwood and Mawson, not being favoured by more prodigious warehouse architects such as Eli Milnes because of the potential fire risk. A number of rooflights and lanterns also lit the upper storey which was used for laying out and checking large pieces of cloth.

The ingenuity showed by the architects in the design particularly of the Law Russell warehouse shows again their talent for designing functional yet aesthetic buildings. The planning is the more exceptional given their limited experience in the design of warehouses. Although Lockwood and Mawson have been attributed with the designs of warehouses at 47 Well Street and 4 Currer Street in Bradford's Little Germany, <sup>(23)</sup> these impressive buildings



with their Italianate detailing were designed by Andrews and Delaunay,<sup>(24)</sup> the latter being extended some years later by the successor firm of Andrews, Son and Pepper.<sup>(25)</sup> Lockwood and Mawson did produce a number of plans for warehouses on a site off Church Bank for Mr T Mills. The first was approved in 1858 and was for a small extension, (64)<sup>(26)</sup> but five years later another plan (82) for five warehouses with four floors and a vaulted basement on the same site and for the same client were also approved.<sup>(27)</sup> In 1877, they produced further plans for rebuilding the entire complex again (145) as four storey warehouses with basements and with a large central carriage arch on the Vicar Lane frontage.<sup>(28)</sup> These buildings, if ever built, have now been demolished.

## **RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS**

Lockwood and Mawson did not gain a large number of commissions for residential buildings, though they were of course responsible for one of the largest planned housing areas of the Victorian era at Saltaire. Before leaving Hull however they designed two further police houses (Lockwood designed three others in 1843) at Sproatley and Welton. The former (32, lxxxviii) followed the general arrangement already established for such buildings in Lockwood's solo career, whilst the one at Welton (37, lxxvii) had to be orientated at right angles to the street with cells and outbuildings in a block attached to the rear.

The remainder of their residential work, once they had removed to Bradford, was centred around the four phases of housing in the model village together with a limited number of private house commissions for wealthy industrial figures. Just as in the design of warehouses and banks, they do not appear to have made any effort to specialise in house designs, though they designed attractive convenient villas in addition to the mass of high density workers housing in Saltaire.

When complete, the housing at Saltaire covered just twenty-five acres in which were 824 houses (45, 51, 62, xli, xlii). This was laid on a fairly rigid grid pattern with early housing running up the slope and later phases, which were closer to the main road, running more attractively with the contour. The architects needed to use a number of devices to ensure that

the mass of housing did not appear monotonous, and a mixture of heights, roof types and architectural detailing allowed the different terraces to have their own character and gave opportunities for visual set-pieces in the street. The main benefits for the workers who lived in the houses however were the facilities which they provided coupled with the advantages of a semi-rural site and the range of public buildings and facilities which Saltaire offered.

Straight comparisons between the standard of the Saltaire houses and their contemporaries in central Bradford are hard to draw as reliable evidence is difficult to find for the latter. However, the improved workmen's houses were roughly two square yards larger than a standard back-to-back house in Bradford of the 1870's.<sup>(29)</sup> The fact that the houses in Saltaire were virtually all 'throughs' rather than back-to-backs made them instantly superior to the type of accommodation which housed tens of thousands in central Bradford. Each Saltaire house had its own lavatory in the back yard at a time when the Shipley Board of Health only required one toilet for every two houses.<sup>(30)</sup>

The layout of the streets meant that toilets and ashpits could be quickly and easily emptied, unlike the housing areas of central Bradford where middens were cleared at the door of the rear back-to-back. Although the streets were in some cases quite narrow, they were all open-ended, and the height of the houses never exceeded the width of the street. All therefore benefitted from light, sun and air - the latter not being contaminated by the flues of the mill which incorporated all the latest effluvium reducers.

The earliest workmen's houses were undoubtedly small though the living rooms had good size York ranges and were fairly spacious. To the rear were small sculleries and there were two bedrooms above of different sizes each with a fireplace. Those in the second phase of building also had cellar pantries and a 'set pot' for heating water in the kitchen. The overlookers' houses had three bedrooms, scullery kitchen, sitting room, and cellar pantry and small front gardens in addition to the back yards. The rents varied from 2s.4d. for the smallest houses to 7s.6d. a week for the best houses on Albert Road (xliii). The houses would give Salt a return of his capital outlay in 25 years, though the annual return of 4% was far less than he could have achieved by other investments.<sup>(31)</sup> In comparison with those in



Bradford, the Saltaire residents therefore enjoyed cheaper rents, and they were not subject to wild increases during times of housing shortage. Gas was supplied to the houses direct from the mill, and so was generally cheaper than in the surrounding area. The public buildings were all conveniently located within the village, and the houses were kept a reasonable distance from the noise and nuisance of the mill. This was again in stark contrast to the environment in central Bradford where housing was cheek-by-jowl amongst a range of insanitary and noxious neighbouring uses. The limited water supply in Bradford, including the beck and canal, the latter of which was so polluted as to gain the affectionate nickname 'River Stink', <sup>(32)</sup> was in complete contrast to the river and canal in Saltaire and consequently to the amenity value of the attractive park which they adjoined. It is the town planning rather than the planning of the individual houses themselves which sets Lockwood and Mawson's work at Saltaire apart from the vast majority of contemporary working class housing developments.

After Saltaire, Lockwood and Mawson dabbled in the design of suburban housing with a small number of designs on the Mornington Villas estate in Manningham (48). This was followed by their only design for a housing club when they produced the attractive terrace at Mount Royd (84, lxxxvi), overlooking a landscaped and terraced garden. This was at the top end of the middle class housing scale, involving eight large but terraced properties. A particular feature was the opening of the principal bedroom onto the roof of the living room bay below which was a popular motif included in many of the better class houses which they designed.

The rest of Lockwood and Mawson's housing designs were all large villas for wealthy private clients. Whether Italianate or Gothic, these houses were conveniently laid out if for the most part rather uninspired. The first was Ferncliffe in 1855 (54, lxxxi), a symmetrically planned Italianate villa but with a separate Gothic gatelodge adjacent to the road. The house had 'more regard for convenience and comfort than for lavish and costly display'<sup>(33)</sup> though it contained a grand entrance hall with coffered ceiling and sumptuous drawing room with bay window, dining room, billiard room and the range of boudoirs (one opening to the roof of the bay) and other rooms becoming of the house of a former Mayor of Bradford. In the grounds



were extensive outbuildings, stables, summerhouses, greenhouses and a kitchen garden all designed by Lockwood and Mawson. Twelve years later, the architects designed Longwood at Bingley (101, lxxxii). This was more sophisticated than Ferncliffe with a barely asymmetrical plan based around a tower-like entrance porch. Again the motif of the bay which became a balcony for the room above was used on the garden front, with another square two-storey bay on the south elevation. The accommodation provided at Bingley was considerably more extensive than at Ferncliffe<sup>(34)</sup>. Longwood had a large central hall laid with ornamental tiles and lit by a large stained glass window. The formal rooms on the ground floor included breakfast room, dining room (with conservatory off), drawing room and ante-drawing room, supported by generous servants' rooms and kitchens. Extensive outbuildings were also provided, together with yards and kitchen garden<sup>(35)</sup> and a lodge in a matching Italianate style. In 1872, Lockwood and Mawson designed the third of their Italianate villas at Ingrow in Keighley (123). This was a symmetrical design with a central canopied entrance with hallway and grand stair behind.

Cragg Royd at Apperley Bridge (92, lxxxiv) was built in 1865 in a Franco-Italianate Gothic style which seems to have developed as a hybrid of the Wool Exchange Gothic. Despite the change in style, the planning and motifs of bays and balconies reflected those of their Italianate designs, though the most notable feature was a single storey billiard room attached to the north elevation with an open hammer-beam roof in the Bradford Wool Exchange style.

The most sophisticated and accomplished private house design which the partnership undertook, however, was the 'Elizabethan' Woodleigh Hall at Rawdon (109, lxxxv) in 1869. Like Cragg Royd, there was an entrance tower with belvedere, though the garden front had an open colonnade and a large palm house was attached to the east of the main elevation. Inside were the usual dining rooms, library and reception rooms, together with a fine drawing room to which the palm house was attached and sunken down so that the specimens could easily be seen from within the room.<sup>(36)</sup>

The outbuildings and palm houses which Lockwood and Mawson designed were as interesting as the private houses to which they were attached. Lockwood had some experience



of such buildings from his early solo career and the work for the Hull Zoological Garden, and he was therefore able to provide suitable buildings for his wealthy clients to enjoy the fashionable pastime of cultivating rare breeds of plant. Such commissions included one for Titus Salt when Lockwood and Mawson extended and altered Methley Hall (66) and added hothouses.

## **SCHOOLS AND OTHER BUILDINGS FOR EDUCATION**

In the design of schools and other buildings with an educational use, Lockwood and Mawson were able to draw on their experience of designing workhouses and the way they could adapt the plan form of the building to help separate the different sexes. At the Saltaire school in 1868 (105, xlv), the large central pavilion is flanked on either side by colonnades and smaller pavilions. Rather than entering the building in the middle, the central feature effectively segregates the sexes who enter beneath their own colonnade. Inside, the end pavilions were similarly for use by one sex only, and the large rear hall immediately behind the central building (and therefore directly comparable with the combined chapel and dining halls in many of their workhouse designs) effectively separated the two playgrounds.

In the larger Feversham Street School of 1873 (125, lxxxix), the large site and need to provide for infants and older pupils meant that the girls and infants were housed together in a large block, with the boys across the street in a block which directly mirrored the girls' part of the school. The long, thin plan form of the boys' and girls' schools meant that they occupied virtually the full width of their respective plots and so ensured that the rear playgrounds were hidden from view. The buildings are unusual in having an asymmetrical plan form with a slightly off-centred spire above the girls' entrance. The infants' school was L-shaped with a facade to the main Leeds Road which bounded the site.

The Drighlington Board School (134) built in the following year showed a development of the Feversham Street plan. Again there were boys' and girls' schools each with two classrooms (compared with three each at Feversham Street) and separate infants school, all with their own entrance, but to the rear was added a mixed school for teaching 'advanced'

pupils of both sexes. Both the Feversham Street and Drighlington Schools, in common with all the other Board Schools of this period in Bradford, were single storey.

Elements of the workhouse plan could also be seen in both the Airedale College of 1874-7 and the Nottingham University College begun in 1877. Although both were Gothic buildings, they were essentially symmetrical in plan with grand central entrances and end pavilions. In the case of Nottingham University (149, xci), the wings housed a library and museum respectively, whilst the lecture theatres and science laboratories were immediately behind the central entrance where the chapel/dining hall would have been found in their workhouse designs. The dominance of this central feature with a large hall behind was even a feature of the Merchant Taylors' Boys School (152, xcii) where segregation of the sexes was not an issue.

The Airedale College (133, xc) was one of the truest Gothic buildings which the practice designed as its windows and other features were arranged in relation to the rooms which they served rather than being applied in regimented fashion. The assembly hall which occupied the east wing had a two-storey oriel window, whilst the principal's lodge in the west wing had smaller module windows and a separate side entrance with steep pyramidal tower. As the assembly hall was located (presumably symbolically) to the east, the space behind the main entrance of the building could be used for a grand staircase. The slightly later Merchant Taylors' School at Great Crosby similarly had windows which reflected the function of the rooms and mirrors many of the essential features of the Airedale College plan.

At the Saltaire Institute (122, li, lii), the central entrance more typically had a large hall behind it, and the staircase was pushed to one side (as in the Nottingham University). The front wings of the building housed classrooms and a billiard room, whilst the basement had a smaller lecture theatre, custodian's house, kitchens and a large gymnasium. The provision of a semi-sunk basement to house the ancillary uses was a principal taken from the design of chapels where school rooms and caretaker's accommodation were provided in the basements.

The design of Mechanics' Institutes clearly did not require the same provision for segregation



as schools. In Lockwood and Mawson's Keighley Mechanics' Institute and School of Science and Art of 1868 (103, xciii) however, they had the problem of marrying yet keeping apart (visually and physically) the differing requirements of a large public hall and smaller rooms for the mechanics. This they achieved by treating the large hall as a unit separated by the main entrance 'under the tower which rises to a height of nearly 100ft and serves to unite yet distinguish the double block of buildings.'<sup>(37)</sup>

The main facade housed the full height lecture hall which faced Skipton Road and was separated by the tower from the main block facing Cavendish Street. The latter had a library, reading room, news room and other accommodation for the Mechanics' Institute at ground level, and exhibition, painting and other rooms for the school above. The basement housed classrooms and a 100-seat lecture theatre. The Mechanics' Institute, schools and lecture theatre all had separate entrances and could all be used independently. The building was therefore extremely convenient for its users whilst being 'a conspicuous addition to the public buildings of the town'.<sup>(38)</sup>

## **WORKHOUSES**

The design of workhouses was a field in which Henry Lockwood had already established his credentials before the formation of the partnership with William Mawson and it would prove to be one of the most consistent types of commission which the partnership enjoyed into the 1860s. Despite producing two of the country's largest workhouses of the 1840s in Liverpool, probably the most influential of Lockwood's solo workhouse commissions was the Sculcoates Union Workhouse in Hull of 1843. This had a front range with an entrance lodge with a T-shaped main building behind with a small infirmary at the base of the leg of the 'T' and single storey side wings housing workshops. This model was largely followed in the majority of the Lockwood and Mawson's workhouse designs.

The designs for the Bradford Union Workhouse of 1849-51, in plan form at least, were extremely similar to the design for the Sculcoates Union. This was noted by the Poor Law Inspector asked to advise the Bradford Guardians who clearly felt that the Hull building was

a successful design.<sup>(39)</sup> Although the architectural style of the buildings had changed from Tudor Gothic to more fashionable Italianate for the Bradford design, the principal layout of entrance lodge and T-shaped main building behind was virtually identical (35, xciv). The Bradford Union Workhouse therefore had a two-storey entrance block with an archway through, flanked by a single-storey range which ran parallel to the street. Behind was the main block with a two storey parallel range and three-storey wings with gables facing the street. The centre of the main range was emphasised by a pilastered belvedere with a pyramidal roof. The massing of the building with its single and two-storey entrance range, and two- and three-storey main building was different to the Sculcoates model as was the position of the workshops which were less extensive at Bradford and ran to the sides of the base of the 'T' rather than forming continuous side ranges running from front to back. The entrance lodge at Hull was smaller and had screen walls either side which linked to two end pavilions in the workshop ranges; at Bradford the lodge and adjoining single storey ward filled the width of the plot.

Virtually contemporaneous with the Bradford Workhouse building was the practice's Barnsley Union Workhouse (41, xcv). The planning was again similar with an entrance range and T-shaped main range behind. Unlike at Bradford, the entrance range was symmetrical with prominent gables, whilst the main range had longer, slimmer end gables which led to workshop buildings behind as at Sculcoates. A separate infirmary may have been provided to the rear.<sup>(40)</sup>

A measure of the convenience of the plan form which Lockwood and Mawson developed for their workhouse buildings can be gauged from the comments in *The Builder* regarding the Hull Union Workhouse competition (43, xcvi) which was also decided in 1851. Their view on the 44 designs submitted for the competition was that 'although a number of designs possess many, and some most of the essential requisites, yet the design by Lockwood and Mawson contains the best combination of them all.'<sup>(41)</sup>

Typically the front entrance range ran parallel to Anlaby Road and housed the offices and casual wards. Behind was the main building with Master's Office, male and female wards,



school and workrooms, dining hall and kitchen. Parallel with the main building were the workshops and laundries (as at Bradford) together with a chapel capable of seating up to 400 people. Typically, the sexes were segregated with males to the west and females to the east. The boys' school was in the front west wing of the main building with the girls' school in the corresponding east wing. These overlooked the boys' and girls' wards respectively. The men's and women's wards were to the rear of the main block and flanked the dining room and chapel. The accommodation also included an infirmary which was housed in a separate rectangular block (similar in position and style to that at Barnsley) with short recessed end wings overlooking a number of segregated courtyards. The Hull Workhouse was therefore a large building which warranted a separate infirmary and a purpose-built chapel. In the smaller workhouses which the practice designed, the hall was used for dining and religious purposes. Lockwood and Mawson clearly felt the two uses were quite compatible as they designed the workers' dining room at Saltaire which was also capable of being used as the chapel until the Congregational Church was completed.

The pattern worked equally well (with minor adaptations) for workhouses large and small. The Dewsbury Union Workhouse of 1853 (50, xcvi) housed just 310 inmates compared with the 753 at Hull, although it had a separate infirmary and a small industrial school which was probably housed in a separate block at right angles to the main ranges. The main building at Dewsbury lacked the cross-wings of all the larger workhouses presumably because of the fewer inmates to be accommodated. The North Bierley Union Workhouse of 1855 (56, xcvi) was a larger composition but still followed the same basic plan with entrance lodge with board room above the archway and main range behind. This was just two storeys but eighteen bays long. Although the main range was T-shaped just like all the previous designs, the gabled end-pieces of the front elevation were considerably reduced. Stair towers were positioned either side of the central block (as at Hull and Dewsbury) and were repeated front and rear at the ends of the elevation in place of the cross gables.

The reason for this was clear from examination of the Carlisle Workhouse plans of 1862 which survive in their entirety (80, ic-ci). A large number of staircases (eight in total) meant that all the different classes of inmate who all had different day- and bedrooms could be kept



apart when walking between them and when using toilets which as in the mill designs were also within the staircase towers. The Carlisle Workhouse was large with a front range of three storeys, though despite its size (and presumably because of economies forced on the architects) with a dual-use dining room/chapel. Kitchens and stores formed the single-storey leg of the T to the rear. The central part of the front facade housed offices and stores, with the wings accommodating men to the west and women to the east. Both wings had a central corridor arrangement lit by lightwells and large windows in the ends of the gables. On the ground floor were day rooms, with the bedridden rooms nearest the centre and bathrooms in the bases of the towers which flanked the entrance. Toilet facilities for the able-bodied were provided in single-storey end wings (as at North Bierley) rather than the end stair towers. On the upper floor were bedrooms including rooms for aged married couples. Staircases were located in the towers flanking the central block, and in the penultimate bays which also projected. Toilet facilities on the upper floors were provided in the central towers.

To the rear of the dining room and kitchen were single storey workshops to the west, and laundries and washhouses to the east. Beyond these were a gig house and further stores. The male court was to the west of the dining room wing, and was split down the middle by a toilet block to form a separate court for children nearest to the building. On the east side, this was replicated to keep apart disorderly and able-bodied women. Interestingly, the master's office had a bay window with a view directly into the disorderly women's yard.

Although a precise date for its erection cannot be ascertained, the Haslingden Workhouse appears from its architectural style to have been erected at a similar time to that at Carlisle. Although the latter was large with a twenty-five bay front range, Haslingden was even bigger with 31 bays. Considering that the main ranges of both buildings were three storeys in height, they clearly catered for large numbers of residents.

When the population of Bradford boomed in the 1860s as trade improved, Lockwood and Mawson were asked to provide additional accommodation at the Bradford Workhouse (113, xciv). The resulting buildings broke the pattern of the previous commissions as four separate parallel ranges to the rear of their original building were provided. This was similar to the



additional accommodation built for the North Bierley Union though the customary stair/toilet towers were included.

The only workhouse design which truly broke from the standard workhouse pattern however was the design for the Penistone Workhouse in 1859 (68, ciii). This was to house just 130 inmates divided into six classes though it was to have a separate entrance building and infirmary. The plan form of the main building was based on the radial workhouse plans of Sampson Kempthorn developed in the 1830s. The building was therefore cruciform in shape with a central hub top-lit by a small lantern.<sup>(42)</sup> The front wing was gabled and had a small bell turret, whilst the side wings housing male and female inmates were hipped and had mill-like sanitary towers at their ends. Unlike Kempthorn's plans, the Penistone workhouse had central corridors with rooms either side. The rear wing housed the kitchens and dining room. Whilst the infirmary was in a separate block parallel with the horizontal bar of the cross to the north west the receiving ward and entrance lodge were similarly oriented to the north east. Unusually there was no entrance archway, the lodge being set parallel to the site entrance.

This design was very much the exception, as Lockwood and Mawson obviously rarely felt the need to modify their tried and tested plan. In the discussion which followed the Carlisle Workhouse competition it was clear that the convenience of the plan was a major factor in the success of their schemes. As the local newspaper reported:-

‘This plan possesses admirable arrangements for the board, waiting and relieving officers’ rooms: also for vagrants and probationers. The several yards or courts are spacious. The apartments in the main body of the building are most judiciously allotted to the several classes of inmates; the accommodation for the master and matron good; and a spacious dining-hall which can be used as a chapel. The infirmary and fever-house are placed on the highest ground, an arrangement which will be approved by the medical faculty...The general warming of the building is provided for...’<sup>(43)</sup>

Of course this didn't prevent the Board attempting to reduce costs, though in typical fashion Lockwood and Mawson were able to demonstrate the folly of the Board's wishes. A surviving note of the Workhouse Committee meeting on 11 September 1862 which was attended by Henry Lockwood demonstrates this. To bring the costs down the Board



suggested reducing the length of the main block by two bays. Lockwood pointed out that this would make the day rooms inconveniently small, and would save only around £500, and that if they changed their minds at a later date, it would cost more like £1000 to add the lost features later. It would also mean a reduction in the size of the courts behind. Presumably in a spirit of cooperation and to safeguard the ornamental aspects of the building which were also under scrutiny, Lockwood agreed that the firm would superintend the building for five percent of the cost, though the Board had to employ their own Clerk of Works, and that no travelling expenses would be claimed. Lockwood also made suggestions about the site plan, and finally the Committee resolved to adopt the 'ornamental' plan but omitting a bell turret at the entrance.<sup>(44)</sup>

Despite the excellence of their workhouse plans, Lockwood and Mawson did not design such buildings after the 1860s. They were involved in hospital designs in Leeds (a competition win of 1861 which was not built), and in 1864-5 when they designed the country's first Eye and Ear Hospital in Bradford (90). In 1868 they built both a new hospital for Titus Salt in Saltaire (108) and entered the Bradford House of Recovery competition (104). Although unsuccessful, the latter competition entry based on 'the pavilion principle, developed in two modes of arrangement, both with the pavilions on lines from north to south, and therefore with east and west aspects to the wards'<sup>(45)</sup> showed that their commonsense planning was highly suited to the design of both workhouse and hospital buildings.

## **COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS, BANKS, HOTELS AND CLUBS**

Many of the principles which Lockwood and Mawson adopted in their designs of warehouse buildings were employed in the design of other commercial buildings and banks. The architects tended to favour entrances in the canted corners of such buildings thus allowing a clear focus for the decoration which would articulate the main entrance. This was often supplemented by a separate entrance to the upper floors; a device especially useful for banks where the manager's accommodation occupied the first and second floors of the building. The public areas of banks were well lit by the windows in the principal elevations and the manager's office was situated adjacent to the public areas though the entrance was protected



by the counter. In the later of the Yorkshire Banking Co. buildings in Bradford (124.civ), the strong room occupied the secure centre of the building, whilst in the Hull version it was located in the basement. *The Architect* considered that in the Bradford design 'every convenience is provided for customers as well as Managers and clerks, and the privacy of customers has been studiously considered.'<sup>(46)</sup> The Hull bank (153, cv, cvi) also showed a further adaptation of the warehouse plan where a central light-well was used to light the clerks' desks which, due to the plot size, were some distance from the principal windows.<sup>(47)</sup>

The excessively high cost of building land in the Bradford of the early 1870s meant that Lockwood and Mawson had to show great ingenuity in the design of one of the largest blocks in the town centre which became ripe for redevelopment. They combined the new Liberal Club (143, cix) with a block of commercial property (including a substantial new jeweller's shop for Manoah Rhodes the Mayor of Bradford from 1873-4) by concentrating the commercial activities on the ground and basement floors and using just the upper floors for the club. The entrance to the club was placed as the centrepiece to Bank Street.<sup>(48)</sup> A similar method was used when they designed the virtually contemporary Union Club (144) nearby when again the lower floors were let as commercial property to finance the erection of the club.

The Victoria Hotel of 1867 (102, cxii) however followed the basic workhouse plan albeit on a much more opulent scale. It was simply planned with a central circulation core and wings of main rooms on the ground floor and bedrooms above to either side. The dining room and main lounge occupied the slightly larger rooms in the pavilion ends with suites above. This was a railway hotel built largely to provide suitable accommodation for visiting merchants. Whilst standards had to be high they did not reach those of the Inns of Court Hotel designed two years earlier (95, cxiii, cxiv). This had 170 bedrooms and numerous lounges and dining rooms. Despite having to retain a small roadway which cut across the centre of the site, they managed to provide sumptuous and convenient accommodation including a huge inner court 'to be laid out as a conservatory with ornamental water in the centre.'<sup>(49)</sup>

## **LARGE PUBLIC BUILDINGS**

The Victorian age nurtured a demand for large public buildings which often needed to incorporate a variety of functions or different uses. Lockwood and Mawson were keen to be involved in the design of such buildings even from the early days of the partnership's formation when they entered the competition for the design of the Great Exhibition buildings. This was rather ambitious, though within a year, they would be designing one of the largest architectural challenges of the Victorian era, the model village at Saltaire, at the same time as a range of buildings including the new public hall in Bradford, typically dedicated to St George.

The St George's Hall was basically a single space though surrounded by reception and dressing rooms. Similarly, the Bradford Exchange (85, lvii), built eleven years later, was basically a large trading hall, though lettable offices and shops were incorporated above and around the edges to make the financing of the building secure. This of course created the problem of lighting the inner trading hall which the architects overcame by creating an open hammer-beam roof and providing clerestorey windows. This was supplemented by an 'apse' to Hustlergate which was fully glazed. The shops were located along Market Street and Bank Street with the offices facing Bank Street where there was a second entrance. The principal traders' entrance was through the clock tower (which served as a porch for additional trading space). The layout of the building, with the entrance and principal feature on the narrowest most awkward part of the site was therefore highly reminiscent of the principles which the architects adopted when designing workhouses.

The use of lanterns and roofs of glass and iron was of course one of the most significant technological advances made in the Victorian era and one which Lockwood and Mawson exploited to cast light downwards into spaces which would otherwise be surrounded by other rooms and therefore unlit. The Hull, Dublin and Bradford Kirkgate Markets all had large open areas lit from above. The two principal entrances into the latter (121, cxv, cxvi) opened into octagonal pavilions which acted as foyers to the market proper. All these spaces were lit from above with the main market having a clerestorey of arched iron windows which



produced a light and airy interior. The architects were clearly determined to ensure that the iron-work produced an appropriate aesthetic effect and they consequently went to the trouble of making full size models of the structural components of the ironwork for the Kirkgate Market.<sup>(50)</sup> Although initially *The Builder* described the market as more like ‘a lounge for dandies, rather than the market place of a working man’,<sup>(51)</sup> by the time the building was completed, they had totally altered their opinion concluding that ‘the lighting of the building is so arranged as to hinder the penetration of the direct rays of the sun. The south side of each roof is covered with slate and lined with felt, and the northern side glazed with obscured ground glass, admitting light abundantly whilst excluding heat.’<sup>(52)</sup> *The Architect* added that this method had ‘not been adopted before except in the construction of the new Smithfield Market.’<sup>(53)</sup>

The Kirkgate Market design also won praise for the way the it overcame the vagaries of the steeply sloping site. *The Architect* considered that;-

‘the objects sought to be attained by the architects in designing this market have been convenience of access, simplicity of arrangement, abundance of light, through ventilation, and pure architectural embellishment. The architects have had to contend with an extremely irregular site, but their design has been so arranged, as to combine architectural unity and a perfect concealment of the defects of the ground.’<sup>(54)</sup>

This was achieved by stepping the blocks of shops as the gradient increased up Darley Street, and raising the market floor to the level at the top of the hill, which necessitated an ascent of thirty steps from the main entrance.

The Dublin Markets Competition (151), won shortly before Lockwood’s death showed the architects’ continuing concern for light and ventilation. Despite the Dublin building being in a completely different architectural style to the Kirkgate Market, and incorporating houses, they designed the roof of the market hall so that it only admitted north light, and left adequate space between the rear of the houses and the hall to allow sufficient light and air into all the buildings. One of the last buildings to be designed by the partnership therefore was led by the same principles which guided the design of one of the first, the Hull Markets, where not only was the building designed to admit north light but had openings in the roof and a central fountain to ‘cool and purify the atmosphere.’<sup>(55)</sup>

Excellent planning was also a feature of the extensive St James' Wholesale Markets (135, cxvii) erected in Bradford in 1875. This was designed with a main street running across the site with warehouses for vegetables and fruit either side and a fish market at the northern end. A smaller street ran at right angles and there were 34 market garden stands whilst cattle pens and abattoirs were in the northern part of the site. The meat and fish markets were therefore kept well separated from the fresh produce. Some of the largest warehouses had their own turntables and railway sidings and all were easily accessible down a broad flight of stairs from the railway. *The Builder* commented that the wholesale market together with the Kirkgate Markets which were nearing completion at the time 'will when the whole of the scheme is completed, form a series of buildings for market purposes such as few provincial towns can boast of.'<sup>(56)</sup>

The need to incorporate large halls or courts into much larger buildings which usually housed a number of different functions which often had to be kept separate was also a feature of many of the public buildings of the era, and one in which Lockwood and Mawson would again use their planning skills to good effect. Their Bradford Town Hall design (112, lxiii) for example was extremely efficient and convenient in its use of space. This was achieved largely through the separation of the municipal offices in the larger, rectangular part of the site, from the magistrates' court in the north-eastern corner. The principal committee rooms and Mayor's office were directly accessible from the elaborate principal entrance and staircase (lx), whilst the borough offices could be reached also from a side entrance with an attractive circular staircase. The court also had separate entrances for the public and those involved in the proceedings.

In this competition, the simplicity of the internal functions of the building set Lockwood and Mawson's designs apart from those of their competitors who mixed up the borough and magistrates' accommodation in a confusing way which necessitated endless, unlit corridors. In contrast, Lockwood and Mawson's vaulted corridors were lit from two central open courts.

This design was based to some extent on Lockwood's unsuccessful entry in the Law Courts Competition (97, lxv) which had been criticised in some journals for its architectural style,



but generally seems to have been roundly praised for its planning. He was unique amongst the competitors in providing three meeting halls in the centre of the Courts building - the others either intended one large hall or none at all. Lockwood argued that a single hall, if it was to be large enough to provide for all the different courts, would be so huge as to be unworkable.<sup>(57)</sup> He therefore split the space to give three halls. The central one was the largest (modelled on Westminster Hall) and it was intended that the northern side could be used as a meeting place for those with business in the equity courts, whilst its southern side would be used by the common law courts. The western hall would be used by the exchequer courts and provided a private entrance for the Lord Chancellor. The eastern hall could then be used by the adjacent Probate, Ecclesiastical or Admiralty Courts.

The building had three entrances; from The Strand to the south, Clements Inn to the west and Chancery Lane to the east. These gave easy access to the different courts and meeting halls. The Strand entrance was the principal one. This was the only entrance to be used by the general public to give the courts and private rooms a degree of privacy. Behind this was an open vestibule which gave light through to the central hall. This had a continuous top-lit walkway around its circumference and the various courts divided by jurors' and waiting rooms which were accessed from it. An outer corridor then gave access to the judges' rooms which looked out to the surrounding streets. On the first floor were barristers' and solicitors' consulting rooms above the judges' rooms, together with library, robing and refreshment rooms. Below the courts, though directly linked to them, were the witnesses' rooms. The common sense plan meant that the various corridors were segregated for different classes of official or visitor, and the public entrance off The Strand led to staircases directly to the Court Galleries.

Lockwood appears to have been extremely keen to ensure that the appropriate rooms enjoyed natural light. *The Builder* reported:-

‘The object sought to be obtained in this design is the avoidance of skylights, borrowed light, and balconies, - of skylights particularly on a large scale, because if of wood, they must be constantly subject to decay and repair; if of iron, to contraction and expansion, and consequent fracture of the glass; the cause of great heat in summer and of cold in winter and always obstructive to the admission of light and air.

Balconies have been avoided from the feeling that they are injurious to the light of the rooms below them, and that, from the number of persons traversing them, they would be productive of annoyance to those in the rooms on the same level.'<sup>(58)</sup>

*The Engineer* was equally impressed with Lockwood's practical planning, and considered his proposal one of the most likely to succeed.<sup>(59)</sup> Similarly a report by two architects appointed by the Government, who had become nervous about the lack of architectural expertise on the judging panel, gave some support to Lockwood's design. The report considered various 'problems' and assessed how successfully the submitted designs overcame these. Only Barry's and Scott's designs were ranked ahead of Lockwood's.<sup>(60)</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Lockwood and Mawson were not great experimenters with different plan forms and layouts of the buildings which they designed. Once they had discovered an acceptable form, they tended to continue to reuse it rather than endlessly inventing new plans. Similarly, once they had explored the possibilities and advantages of a particular feature or construction method, they were not averse to adapting this for use in other buildings. In doing this of course they were helped by the demands and trends of the Victorian age which required cross-ventilation and adequate sanitary provision for industrial and welfare buildings, and consequently the combined staircase/toilet tower became a feature of the practice's mill and workhouse designs. The planning required to segregate different classes of inmate in the workhouse could equally be used to guide the layout of schools and Sunday schools.

But undoubtedly the skills they developed in the design of the mill, and then the rest of the village at Saltaire, were instrumental in the success of the practice throughout the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The integration in a single building of all the different processes involved in the manufacture of worsted cloth was unique and required considerable skill if the building was to be ergonomically successful. The architects adapted their 'T' plan form used in their workhouse designs (which would also pay homage to the owner of Saltaire) and used it to separate the weaving and combing sheds, with the mill proper in the horizontal, and the warehouse in the vertical with direct access to both railway and canal.



The planning of the village similarly saw the main spines of road and railway effectively dividing the housing and public buildings, whilst public buildings (institute and school, and more symbolically church and mill) faced each other across the principal road for dramatic effect. The planning of the village demonstrates both the commonsense planning which typified so many of Lockwood and Mawson's buildings, and the desire for picturesque effect which Lockwood developed from his early training. The twin strands of practicality and aesthetics would run throughout the majority of the practice's designs, irrespective of the architectural style adopted.

## CHAPTER 7: BUILDING STYLE

### CLASSICAL INSPIRATION

Although Lockwood and Mawson never designed a pure Neoclassical building to rival the Great Thornton Street, Albion and Trinity House chapels of Lockwood's solo career in Hull, nevertheless the inspiration for the style and aesthetic appearance of many of the practice's buildings was clearly based in antiquity. The St George's Hall in Bradford, one of the practice's first commissions on arrival in Bradford, was based on the Neoclassical model of Lockwood's earlier buildings and the halls built in Birmingham and especially Liverpool earlier in the century. The templar form on which the St George's Hall is based was also used to great effect in the design of Nonconformist Chapels well into the 1870s. In every case however the buildings lacked the severity of the 'Greek Revival' and enjoyed the ornamentation and opulent show which the aspiring city fathers and Nonconformist congregations of the second half of the nineteenth century would demand.

Although the St George's Hall (46, iv) replicated the Giant Order of columns sat on a base of its Liverpool namesake and the temple chapels of Lockwood's solo career, the detailing was much less severe. The basement is rusticated and garlands hung between the mezzanine windows. The arches to the basement had vermiculated voussoirs and carved heads for the keystones. More importantly, the Giant Order is of attached columns, yet the intercolumniation was articulated with windows and plain panels to give a strong sense of relief. The convenience of the building was not sacrificed, and arches were set between the columns of the front facade to light the foyer, whilst similar arches on the side were carried higher to light the balconies. The sloping site meant that the basement virtually disappeared and there was no mezzanine level at the rear.

The style used was a suitably showy Corinthian Order, and the interior was decorated in similarly frivolous fashion. Lockwood freely adapted his Classical capitals inside the building incorporating musical instruments in the same way in which he had used nautical motifs in the Trinity House Chapel in Hull. The interior was also decorated in light shades



to further appeal to the masses, though the ravages of smoke necessitated a redecoration twenty years later, again designed by Lockwood and Mawson. The new colours were based on the fashionable 'Pompeian-style' with red, maroon, black, blue-grey, pale green, bronze and gold extensively used. The Pompeian red walls were divided into panels with fawn lines and in the centre of each panel was a wreath 'enclosing a blue ground, on which will be inscribed in letters of gold the names of the great composers.'<sup>(1)</sup> This style was exceedingly popular during the 1870s particularly for lobbies and entrance halls,<sup>(2)</sup> and was used for the virtually contemporary Liberal and Union Club foyers.

Ignoring the rather Rococo decoration, internally the Hall was similar to the chapels and other halls designed by Lockwood, though atypically the ceiling was not vaulted or coffered. Instead it was panelled and ornamented with 'foliage, flowers, fruit, musical instruments, emblems and figures displayed in most harmonious colours and happy taste'.<sup>(3)</sup> Like many of Lockwood's chapel interiors, the rear wall had an apse-like curve behind the stage, and there were balconies on three sides echoing the great chapel interiors.

A similar use of the Giant Corinthian Order sat on a rusticated base was used in the design of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute (60, liv), part of the central area rebuilding scheme promoted by John Crossley. Like the St George's Hall, the Institute had arched windows within the intercolumniation, the tympana of which were richly carved. Inside, the Corinthian Order was again used to support a coffered ceiling, more typical of the architects' interiors than the panelled ceiling of the St George's Hall.

By the end of the 1850s, Lockwood and Mawson designed no public buildings other than chapels in a style based on the Classical temple form. Instead designs influenced by the Italian and French Renaissance became the source of inspiration for the majority of their non-Gothic buildings of the 1860s and 1870s. Although the alternative designs in both the Hull and Bradford Town Hall competitions were described as 'Classical', certainly the Hull design (75) was hugely influenced by continental Renaissance motifs with mannerist Serliana windows and very French attic-storey windows. It seems however that the transition from the pure Neoclassical designs of Lockwood's early career, to the plethora of Franco-Italianate

designs of the 1860s and 1870s, developed through a hybrid phase in the 1850s when rich ornament was applied to otherwise Classical forms. This style continued to be used into the 1870s but only in the design of Nonconformist churches.

The Providence Place Congregational Church in Cleckheaton, built in 1857 (61, lxvi), was a further adaptation of the temple form which lent itself so well to the layout of Nonconformist Chapels. The Cleckheaton chapel had a powerful facade with an open loggia formed by a Giant Corinthian arcade. This appears to be a unique design, with the only buildings comparable in character being the early railway stations of the 1840s. Elements of the design are typical of the Classical features employed by Lockwood and Mawson however and the unfluted columns with rich capitals, the V-jointed vermiculated masonry used for the antae, the moulded arches with keystones, and the modillioned pediment are borrowed directly from the St George's Hall designs. The elaborate scrolled tablet in the middle of the pediment also echoes the swags and garlands of the St Georges Hall. The side elevation was in contrast typically plain reflecting the need to make economies on less visible parts of the building.

The templar form was also used in the design of the simple and much cheaper Oxford Road Methodist Church in Harrogate (78, lxx) and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Snaith (72). The facades of both had five bays; that at Harrogate with Giant Corinthian pilasters as antae and attached columns between; that at Snaith with Giant Ionic pilasters. The modillioned pediments to both were simpler than the elaborate feature of the Providence Place Chapel, whilst the ornate date stone in the tympanum was a characteristic of all three churches and the later Sion Baptist Church in Bradford (127, lxix). The facade of the Sion Baptist Church (as at Harrogate and Cleckheaton) also had five bays; the middle three forming a portico with two central Corinthian columns and terminal pilasters. The portico projected slightly (unlike at Harrogate) with quarter pilasters at its ends supporting a deep entablature and a modillion bracketed pediment with acroteria.

The large budget for the Sion Baptist building allowed the architects to produce a noble advertisement for the faith and its followers. In contrast, the final 'temple' which the



architects designed for the Society of Friends in Bradford's Fountain Street (142) had to be much simpler as the Friends saw themselves as an unostentatious branch of Christianity. Although the general massing of the five bay front with its modillioned pediment was identical to the previous chapels, there was no Giant Order of columns, just a tetrastyle portico *in antis*, and the showy Corinthian Order normally used was replaced by a more subdued Doric. The building was described by the *Bradford Observer Budget* as 'Plain in the sense of being devoid of outward ornamentation, the new building undoubtedly is ...Chaste, ample and substantial are probably the three terms which would best express the characteristics of the new Friends' Meeting House.'<sup>(4)</sup>

Three other chapels were designed by the architects based on the form of a temple. The Horton Lane Congregational Church was decorated with a hugely eclectic mix of Renaissance detailing however and is more properly considered as a piece of Franco-Italianate architecture. Similarly the City Temple in London (130, lxviii), the Congregational Church's cathedral, which had a two-tier portico of Doric supporting Corinthian columns was clearly influenced by French Renaissance models such as the Dome of the Invalides in Paris. The pure Neoclassical styles of the 1830s and 1840s had therefore by the 1870s been overtaken by the fashion for continental Renaissance designs which allowed much freer and exuberant use of ornament.

The building which stands out more than any other as an example of the architects' skill in interpreting Classical forms however is the Saltaire Congregational Church (61, lxvi). Stylistically this is no reproduction of a design from antiquity, nor is it simply a base for applied Renaissance ornament. Classical motifs are faithfully used, though the building, particularly inside, has a strong French feel as do the majority of Lockwood's 'Classical' interiors. The only historical source which bears more than a passing resemblance to the Saltaire church is the *Tempietto* in the *chiosstro* of S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome built in 1502 by Donato Bramante (1444-1514). This consists of a drum, with dome above and is surrounded by a Tuscan Doric peristyle (used to reflect the masculinity of St Peter whose martyrdom the building commemorates).<sup>(5)</sup> Closer to home, it is possible that Lockwood saw the Independents' George Street Chapel in Liverpool, built by Joseph Franklin in 1841, whilst

designing the workhouse and industrial schools in the city. This had a similar semi-circular peristyle at the east end, though the dome above was poorly related to the lower stages. The chapel was illustrated in the Congregational Yearbook in 1847.<sup>(6)</sup>

The Saltaire Church was much more complex. The Corinthian colonnade was semi-circular and acted as a foyer to the barrel-vaulted space of the church beyond. The correctness of the colonnade gave way to upper stages with a decidedly Baroque character of eight attached Corinthian columns supporting a lead domed roof. The interior of the church had a segmental-vaulted ceiling with cross vaults above the side windows. The latter feature, together with the west organ apse is reminiscent of the interior of the Trinity House Chapel. The chapel at Saltaire shows at its best (admittedly aided by a virtually unlimited budget) how Classical forms were adapted to reflect the more ostentatious fashion for ornament which developed as Victoria's reign progressed.

## **BUILDINGS WITH ITALIANATE AND FRENCH INFLUENCES**

Although the Nonconformist religions retained an enthusiasm for Classical forms, the templar form being ideal for the box-like interiors of their chapels, strict adherence to Classical models would not be appropriate for other building types. From the 1840s, therefore, a passion for architecture which sought its inspiration not from antiquity, but from the Renaissance interpretation of Classical forms, developed for a whole range of buildings, and was particularly favoured for commercial buildings.

The Italianate style was particularly chosen for the design of clubs, and after it was used for the Reform Club by Barry in 1837, the style became associated with the rising power of the middle classes. It therefore became exceptionally popular for the buildings of the *nouveau-riche* industrialists in growing towns such as Bradford, and became almost *de rigueur* for commercial and industrial buildings. It was also a favourite style for houses, especially after it gained royal approval with the completion of the Italianate Osborne House in 1846.

When Lockwood and Mawson moved to Bradford in 1849, they clearly felt that Italianate



buildings would be popular with the rich industrialists of the town. Although Lockwood's police houses of 1843 and particularly at Sproatley in 1849 hinted at Italianate forms, he had not designed a major public building in such a style until he moved to West Yorkshire. With the exception of a few ecclesiastical buildings, once the practice had been set up in Bradford, they would design exclusively Italianate buildings until the 1860s, and they continued to design buildings with a strong Italianate and French character into the 1870s. One reason for this was of course that Lockwood and Mawson designed a large number of buildings for one client, Titus Salt. Buildings such as the Salt warehouse in central Bradford and the Saltaire mill itself were virtually icons to which Salt's peers aspired, and it is no surprise that the style became so popular for Bradford buildings. By the 1870s, when Lockwood and Mawson were retained as advisers to the Corporation on streetworks, much of central Bradford would be dominated by Italianate buildings or their 'Frenchified' derivatives.

Lockwood and Mawson's buildings outside Bradford in the 1850s were also Italianate however. The workhouses at Barnsley (41, xcv), Dewsbury (50, xcvi) and Hull (43, xcvi), as well as those for the Bradford (35, xciv) and North Bierley Unions (56, xcvi) were also built in this style. This is of course in direct contrast to the workhouse buildings which Lockwood had designed in his early career which were all Tudor Gothic. The popularity of Italianate designs for workhouses and hospitals may have been based on their suitability for buildings designed on a pavilion plan,<sup>7</sup> as most of the buildings were at this time. The style was, however, exceptionally popular in the 1840s and 1850s (much longer for some types of buildings), and for Lockwood and Mawson it meant that not only were there similarities in the planning but also in the style of buildings of different types.

The buildings at Saltaire, although in the new Italianate style, actually built upon many of the principles which Lockwood had established in his solo career. The massing and proportions of the housing (xlii, xliii) owe much to the earlier police houses designed in 1843 and at Sproatley six years later, whilst the offices to the mill act as a triumphal arch in the same manner as the entrance lodge at Sewerby Hall which Lockwood had designed in 1845. This feature would also be a major characteristic of the practice's workhouse designs.

The first buildings which Lockwood and Mawson designed in the Italianate style were based on the *palazzo* style of the London clubs. This meant features such as aediculated and arched window surrounds, heavy modillion cornices and the use of rusticated stonework for architectural decoration and the bases of large buildings were widely employed. Such decoration had again been used previously by Lockwood in the Drifffield Corn Exchange which also employed one of the architect's favourite motifs, a carved head for a keystone, above the door.

One of the major advantages of the Italianate style was that it could be astylar, and therefore cheaper than stricter Classical designs with columns. However, colonettes, columns and pilasters were used to give added ornamentation and greater richness to a number of buildings including Salt's warehouse in Bradford which had a top-floor colonnade. The use of columns in Lockwood and Mawson's Italianate designs increased as the century progressed and the national taste for more and more decoration developed. This culminated in designs such as the Kirkgate Market in Bradford (121, cxv) with its *cinquecento* arcades and Venetian windows.

Lockwood and Mawson's earliest Italianate *palazzo*-influenced buildings tended to be relatively simple with the decoration restricted to the window surrounds (which were usually round arched with keystones), the doorcases, the cornice and with rusticated stonework used for the quoins. The early buildings at Saltaire, the early workhouses and private villas such as Ferncliffe (54, lxxxi) (described as 'without architectural superfluities'<sup>(8)</sup>) were all examples of the plain Italianate designs which the practice produced. For building types where great show was not required, for example in mill buildings and surprisingly in private houses such as Longwood (101, lxxxii) and Oakbank (123), and on the side and rear elevations of warehouses and church buildings, this restrained Italianate form persisted into the 1870s.

As the confidence of the nineteenth century grew, however, relatively plain buildings would not be acceptable as adequate advertisements for a range of commercial buildings such as warehouses, banks and hotels, and the later buildings at Saltaire. The range of Italianate



features used therefore widened with features from different regions and periods increasingly introduced. Venetian arches became a particular favourite by the late 1860s and were used as the model for the windows of the school and superior Albert Road houses at Saltaire (xliii), and buildings such as the Victoria Hotel (102, cxii). The style varied from building to building with *trecento* windows in the Victoria Hotel, but much more sophisticated *cinquecento* arcades in the upper stories of the Kirkgate Market. The later buildings at Saltaire, including the Congregational Sunday Schools (137, il), the Albert Road houses in Saltaire and the tower of the Merchant Taylors' School (152, xcii) employed a round arched Italianate style reminiscent of the *Rundbogenstil* forms encouraged by the Prince Consort in the second half of the nineteenth century. The style was really a German interpretation of Italianate forms, and its use at Saltaire, other than because it was fashionable, cannot be explained.

Even when buildings were designed in the Gothic style, the inspiration often remained Italy. The almshouses at Saltaire (106, xlv) had Venetian Gothic (very 'Ruskinian') arches. The much earlier and larger Bradford Wool Exchange (85, lvi) was of similar character and was described by the architects as 'Venetian Gothic...freely treated'.<sup>(9)</sup> A critic of Lockwood's Law Courts design of the following year felt that his use of Venetian plate tracery would frighten Ruskin, such was its abundance.<sup>(10)</sup> The clock tower of Bradford town hall (lxii) was similarly based on the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, a Tuscan campanile, whilst the chimney of the new mill at Saltaire (107, xlvii) was modelled on that of the church of Santa Maria Gloriosa in Venice.

This general shift away from the plainer Italianate designs to a more lavish and decorous form came in the mid-1860s and was therefore virtually contemporaneous with the designs of the Wool Exchange, the practice's first executed non-ecclesiastical Gothic building. The Wool exchange is in itself an eclectic mix of features and research into the architecture of the continent may have broadened the architects' outlook. More likely, the Wool Exchange competition brought home to the architects that their patrons were ever anxious to be considered stylistically up-to-date, and so their Italianate buildings had to include more sophisticated ornament to be considered suitably tasteful. The Leeds and County Bank of

1864 (89, cvii) was a particularly good example with its ornate Venetian Gothic arched windows.

The mid-1860s, as well as engendering a more decorous Italianate style, also saw a greater influence of French motifs in Lockwood and Mawson's architecture. Lockwood's earlier works, and especially his rich vaulted interiors in buildings such as the Trinity House Chapel (xii-xv), the County Rooms at Beverley (x) and the Saltaire Congregational Church, had an air of the French Renaissance, but by the 1860s the influence had spread to the exterior. Again, this was probably a response to the fashions of the day. Wars had prevented any great respect for French architecture in the early years of the nineteenth century; in any case, as Hitchcock suggests, England was stylistically and technologically ahead of its continental neighbours.<sup>(11)</sup> The erection of the New Louvre, instigated in 1852 by Napoleon III and the respect which French manufacturers gained at the Great Exhibition, however, put French design at the forefront of the nation's mind and led to a range of buildings with 'Second Empire' influences.

The Horton Lane Congregational Church (71, lxvii), one of the most eclectic of all Lockwood and Mawson's designs, included very French cupolas on the front towers with lucarnes set within them. This building was considered 'Elizabethan'<sup>(12)</sup> at the time despite the inclusion of French, Dutch and English Renaissance features which may have been due to the 'stylistic ambiguity of the native 16th- and 17th-century models.'<sup>(13)</sup> The influence of France was very much more in evidence in the Inns of Court Hotel of 1865 (95, cxiii), and private houses such as the Gothic Cragg Royd (92, lxxxiv) and Mount Royd (84, lxxxvi) of 1865 and 1864 respectively. French pavilion roofs, lucarnes, *oeil de boeuf* windows and the sheer exuberance of decorated pilasters, or the panels between them, became a feature of many of the buildings of the late 1860s and 1870s. The French style was popular nationally for hotels following the completion of the Great Western Hotel of 1851-3 by P.C. Hardwick (1820-90), and was given a more local impetus by the completion of Brodrick's Grand Hotel in Scarborough in 1867. The use of the style for Lockwood and Mawson's contemporary Victoria Hotel and the slightly earlier Inns of Court Hotel is therefore not surprising.



Steep pavilion roofs in particular became a great feature of the buildings of the later part of Lockwood and Mawson's career, often on buildings otherwise free of French influence. The Law Russell Warehouse (126, lxxx), the Bradford branch of the Yorkshire Banking Company (124, civ), the Kirkgate Market (121, cxv), the Bradford clubs (143, 144, cix) and many of Lockwood's commercial buildings in London all had such roofs over the main entrance which was either on a canted corner, or in the case of the Kirkgate Market in the middle of a long facade.

## **GOTHIC BUILDINGS**

Lockwood's solo career had demonstrated that although his principal skill lay in the design of Classical buildings, the experience he had gained whilst articulated to Robinson had given him the confidence to design Gothic buildings as well. In Hull, he designed a number of buildings in the Tudor Gothic style, but by the 1850s such a style was becoming unfashionable for buildings other than rectories, large private houses and 'Oxbridge' Colleges. The adopted style for workhouses, together with the new commissions for public and commercial buildings, shifted to a more Classical or Italianate style, more fashionable and more acceptable to the political and religious beliefs .

The views of men such as Pugin and the promotion of Gothic architecture by groups such as the Cambridge Camden Society in the 1840s and 1850s established Gothic forms as the proper style of architecture for the Anglican church. In a town such as Bradford, dominated by Nonconformists, such a style should, on the face of it, have had little application in the 1850s. Yet in fact the first Gothic building designed by Lockwood and Mawson in Bradford would be a school and chapel for the Congregationalists (42). The building was in the 'Geometric Decorated'<sup>(14)</sup> style which Lockwood had developed on his Anglican churches in Hull, and the choice of the style for the Congregationalists can only be explained as a desire on the part of the church to be seen as stylistically at the vanguard of fashion. The Unitarians had already built what was probably the first Gothic edifice for a West Yorkshire Nonconformist religion at Mill Hill in Leeds in 1847 (designed by the scholars of Gothic architecture Henry Bowman [1814-83] and Joseph Stretch Crowther [d.1893]), though it

would be another ten years before the Congregationalists had their first serious Gothic church, the fourteenth century-style Square Church in Halifax by Joseph James (1828-75). Lockwood and Mawson's second chapel for the Congregationalists, in Stanningley in 1855 (55) was also Gothic, though in a style closer to First than Second Pointed, and the motif of three grouped lancets on the front elevation had typified Lockwood's solo churches as had the Gothic detailing applied symmetrically to the small, box-like chapel.

The fashion for Gothic churches then seems to have waned amongst the Nonconformists around Bradford as, although Lockwood and Mawson built the Gothic St Thomas' Anglican Church (70) in the town in 1860, they did not design in such a style for the Congregationalists until 1862 and then in Harrogate. The Victoria Avenue Congregational Church (77, lxxii) was again in a late First Pointed Gothic with lancet windows and staged angle buttresses. This was an important design though in the evolution of the practice's Gothic churches, as for the first time, the plan was asymmetrical with a corner tower and spire, and the detailing, particularly of the tower with its lucarnes, had a continental feel which would characterise so many of Lockwood and Mawson's designs of the 1860s and 1870s. The tracery of the windows on the west front and prominent side elevation to Victoria Avenue was of a slightly more sophisticated geometric type which would also characterise subsequent churches at Lightcliffe and Scarborough.

The Ramshill Road Congregational Church in Scarborough of 1864-8 (91, lxxiii) , and the virtually identical Congregational Church at Lightcliffe (115, lxxv) built three years later were both enabled by significant benefactions by Titus Salt. Both churches were in a thirteenth-century Gothic and stylistically and in terms of plan form were a development of the Congregational Church at Harrogate. The tall corner steeple, high nave with transepts and single storey aisles gave them considerable presence and the detailing, including rose windows at the east end, was well applied. A further variant of these model churches was completed in 1874 when the architects designed the Congregational Church of St Mary in the Wood at Morley (131, lxxvi). The plan was virtually identical except for the lack of aisles. Such churches were the match for, and in most cases far superior to, the contemporary Gothic churches being built for the Anglicans.



Lockwood and Mawson's Gothic church designs were not restricted to those for the Congregationalists. The Wesleyan Methodist Church in London's Warwick Gardens (81, lxxi) built in 1863 was in a similar 'geometric' Gothic to the Congregational Churches, and it had a similar corner tower. The design was much less sophisticated than the grand Congregational Churches however, and the box-like body of the church was more like Stanningley than Lightcliffe or Scarborough. The plan form of the Saltaire Methodist Church (98) was similarly simple, though in keeping with the Italianate architecture of the rest of the village, the style was the most fashionable brand of Italianate, Venetian Gothic. Like many of the practice's commissions at the time it was strongly influenced by the fashion for 'Ruskinian' Gothic which had determined the style of the Wool Exchange in Bradford.

The Albemarle Crescent Baptist Church in Scarborough (100, lxxvii) was a much more unusual design despite the customary features of the asymmetrically placed corner tower and the use of geometric tracery. The gallery staircase which attached to the base of the tower had a strong continental character, whilst the voussoirs of alternate Bradford and Whitby stone gave a pleasing polychromatic effect and again looked back to the Wool Exchange for inspiration. Internally the use of slender cast-iron columns supporting an open timber roof mirrored the High Anglican churches of architects such as Enoch Bassett Keeling (1837-86) but was a unique design amongst the practice's churches though probably inspired by the roofs of the Wool Exchange and Law Courts design.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the Gothic churches which Lockwood and Mawson designed was the fact that the underlying style of Gothic used remained constant virtually from Lockwood's solo career. What did change however was the confidence of the architects to apply detailing more freely, and to mix in motifs from the continent. Their Gothic church work was therefore a microcosm of the development of their architecture generally.

Lockwood and Mawson did not restrict their use of Gothic purely to churches. In the design of schools and colleges, for example, they were consistent in their use of 'geometric' Gothic just as they were in their ecclesiastical designs, reinforcing the early link between the church and education. Their ready adoption of Gothic for other building types, and especially for the

design of major public buildings, did not however happen until after the Wool Exchange competition in 1864 with one exception. This was the very early Gothic police house at Welton (37, lxxxvii) designed in a subdued but well-executed Tudor Gothic style. The choice of Gothic (in direct contrast to all his earlier police houses) was presumably because the Italianate style usually adopted would not have worked on the awkward narrow site.

Although the site was equally awkward, the choice of a Gothic style for the new Wool Exchange was clearly made because they wanted to win the competition, and because they knew, given the promptings of the Anglican Tories, that Bradford wanted to be seen as stylistically up-to-date. Ruskin, who lectured to the populace in Bradford, clearly realised that Bradford's desire for such architecture was driven by fashion not spirit. The true message of his speech was however either not understood or ignored by his audience and in praising the Manchester Assize Courts, he gave the town the model of the 'sweetest thing in pinnacles'<sup>(15)</sup> which it wanted to hear.

Lockwood and Mawson's design had windows in the Venetian Gothic style which Ruskin praised most. It also had voussoirs of different stones to give a polychromatic effect, whilst inside the trading hall with its hammer-beam roof (lviii) lit from above and its fine staircases fitted Ruskin's description of the Manchester Assize Courts almost to the letter. Yet Lockwood and Mawson clearly did not copy Waterhouse's building, as their Wool Exchange design was a re-modelling of one of their Hull Town Hall Competition entries of three years earlier. The other factor which makes Lockwood and Mawson's design unique is the deliberate underlying character of a Flemish cloth hall which the building has. Although criticised by some as eclectic and plagiarised,<sup>(16)</sup> the Wool Exchange ranks as one of the most outstanding commercial buildings in the Gothic style of the mid-Victorian era.

Clearly for Lockwood and Mawson the building marked a major watershed in their career, and over the next two years their commissions would be almost exclusively in the Gothic style. These included banks and houses which had previously been executed purely in Italianate styles. The influence of the Wool Exchange was great, and Venetian Gothic windows were used for buildings as diverse as the Leeds and County Bank and the Saltaire



almshouses, whilst the curious yet attractive clock tower at Airmyn (93, cxviii) could virtually have been a scale-model of the Wool Exchange tower. Houses, and even the Bradford Club (96, cx), had shallow-arched window heads, and Venetian Gothic windows and those with geometrical tracery were often freely mixed in. Similarly from the early 1860s steeply-pitched French pavilion roofs were used on Gothic designs such as Cragg Royd at Apperley Bridge (92, lxxxiv), though by the 1870s, they would appear to mark the end pavilions or entrances of otherwise Italianate designs.

The growing influence of French architecture on the practice, and its subsequent amalgamation in otherwise Italianate designs, was equally evident in Gothic designs of the later 1860s. The competition-winning Bradford Town Hall design (112, lx-lxiii) had windows based on those of Amiens Cathedral. The French Gothic style was fashionable in the late 1860s with buildings such as the Law Courts and Manchester Town Hall; indeed Lockwood's own Law Courts design (97, lxxv) had a strong French character. The latter had similar groupings of triple, double and single-light windows marking the storeys (just like the Wool Exchange), whilst internally was a great hall with a hammer-beam roof (again as in the Wool Exchange) though this time modelled on Westminster Hall. The majority of the windows had geometrical tracery just like the practice's contemporary churches. Common to both Lockwood's Town Hall and Law Courts designs were the central clock tower, the overriding symmetry of the building, the exuberant carving and the steeply-pitched and very French roofs.

Although the position of the clock tower was similar to that of the Bradford Town Hall and Law Courts, the design was very different. Whilst the Law Courts' 'Albert' Tower was a huge, wildly exuberant version of that on the Wool Exchange, the Town Hall tower was an exact replica of the *campanile* of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. This was chosen as the model to symbolise the links between the nineteenth century wool magnates of Bradford with their earlier Florentine counterparts, and the impact of the tower across the valley in which central Bradford lies was intended to be as great as Gandolfo's Tower across the Arno valley. The architects would use a similar model, the *campanile* of the Venetian Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa, to decorate the new mill at Saltaire and have an equally picturesque impact

on the Aire Valley. This design predates the Bradford Town Hall competition by only a year.

The one building type in which Lockwood and Mawson consistently deployed the Gothic style was for schools and other educational buildings. The only exceptions were the early Mechanic's Institute in Halifax for John Crossley which was a Classical design, and the Institute and schools at Saltaire which were in the Italianate style of the rest of the village.

The early adoption of geometric Gothic for the Lister Hills Congregational school and chapel has already been mentioned, yet they used a similar, if slightly earlier style (with plate rather than geometric tracery presumably in response to the very tight budget) when designing an Anglican Church attached to St Thomas' School in Bradford twenty years later. In between, they had built a picturesque gymnasium at Cheltenham College (86) in a fashionable polychromatic Gothic with broach spires and towers highly reminiscent of the Wool Exchange which had been recently completed.

In 1873, Lockwood and Mawson were one of eight local architects entrusted with the design of new schools for the enterprising Bradford School Board. All the schools built were extremely lavish and all were Gothic. Lockwood and Mawson's Feversham Street school (125, lxxxix) was in an Early English Gothic style with plate tracery and an asymmetrically-placed tower. The school was clearly highly thought of and later in the year they were commissioned to design a similar school in Drighlington on the edge of Bradford (134). Even more impressive was the Merchant Taylors' School at Great Crosby, north of Liverpool, built in 1878 (152, xcii). This had a large central tower topped by a lantern with a pyramidal roof. Although single-storey like the Board schools, the Merchant Taylors' School had two-storey wings housing halls and large rooms, and the windows and roof forms were different to better suit the function of the spaces they served.

The Gothic style was also used to good effect in the design of colleges. The Airedale College (133, xc), a seminary for the Nonconformists of Bradford, had the geometric tracery of the great Congregational Chapels which they designed and its multi-gabled facade, with windows of various sizes to fit the function of the rooms behind, ranks, like the Merchant Taylors'



School, as one of the practice's most successful Gothic designs. The steeply-pitched, French-influenced roofs were typical of Lockwood and Mawson's buildings of the period. The Airedale College, Merchant Taylors' School like the Nottingham University (149, xci) begun by the practice in the following year had a mixture of plate and geometric tracery, though the latter building had a more unusual arrangement of first floor windows treated as a continuous arcade. The University had a central gabled main entrance, whilst the much smaller Keighley Mechanics' Institute (103, xciii), completed almost a decade earlier, had similar tracery for the windows but a totally asymmetrical design to differentiate the mixture of uses within the building. The split of uses within the Nottingham building lent themselves much more easily to a symmetrical building. The charge that the architects were clearly much more comfortable designing Classical buildings because so many of their Gothic buildings have symmetrical plan forms is therefore a little harsh, and the symmetrical Gothic buildings were only possible because of the great skill in planning the layout of the buildings.

After Ruskin's address to the Bradford people regarding the Wool Exchange competition Lockwood described Ruskin's theories as 'incomprehensible',<sup>(17)</sup> yet it was clear in the Law Courts competition two years later that the architect was well aware of the message being promoted by the advocates of Gothic architecture. In the latter competition, Lockwood stated that his intention was to build in the spirit of the Gothic style rather than produce 'mere Archaism',<sup>(18)</sup> yet his design (described as 'bookwork' by the *Saturday Review*<sup>(19)</sup>) was repetitive and certainly the parapet, broken by huge pinnacles reminiscent of Lockwood's earliest Tudor Gothic buildings, was dated. Despite its popularity with members of the public, the Law Courts design did little to enhance Lockwood's credibility as a follower of the Gothic Revival though it did act as a source for later, more successful designs such as the Bradford Town Hall.

From his comments made after the Wool Exchange competition, it is clear that Lockwood felt somewhat stifled by the stylistic demands made on architects concluding that 'an architect now is an antiquary, and he is looked upon, by some, as the brightest genius who most servilely copies the works of the past - faults and all'.<sup>(20)</sup> This feeling, may have underlain the more mechanical of Lockwood's Gothic designs where the architect felt



constrained to design in a particular style rather than being given the freedom to express himself. The constraints of the Wool Exchange competition may therefore have manifested themselves in the almost self-mocking repetition of the Venetian Gothic bay detail mixed with an eclectic range of detailing including an English medieval hammer-beam roof and Flemish outline and clock tower. Perhaps Lockwood knew that the Venetian Gothic had no real place in 1860s Bradford and so he tempered it with features which were appropriate either because they were English, or because they alluded to the design of buildings for precisely the same function in other countries. The clock tower on the Town Hall, and more exotically the 'Egyptian' bath house at Saltaire (83) had similar underlying principles.

The demands of nineteenth century Britain, however, meant that few architects could build purely in one style (unless they specialised in a single building type) and to gain commissions they had to be responsive to the fashions of the day. When asked to design a canopied niche to shelter the carved figure of their friend Titus Salt (128, cxix), they therefore used the Albert Memorial as a model. The choice of such a style also ensured that the memorial would fit nicely with the Italian / French Gothic of the Town Hall opposite. In the design of houses they continued to build what their clients wished, and so Italianate houses such as Oakbank were designed unfashionably late, Gothic gatehouses were built for Italianate villas such as Ferncliffe and even a design in Elizabethan style at Woodleigh Hall was carried out with the customary competence. They even apparently designed bath houses at Saltaire in a suitably exotic 'Egyptian' style.<sup>(21)</sup>

Like most architects of the era however they were relatively restricted in the styles which they could adopt if they wanted to gain commissions. Fortunately, they excelled in Italianate designs and, despite the huge number of buildings they produced in such a style, their ability to apply ornament and detailing with great imagination meant that few of their buildings were repetitive, and that, even after they had been designing in such a style for more than twenty years, they could produce such an outstanding building as the Law Russell Warehouse.

Perhaps they did have less enthusiasm for Gothic buildings, but when given the freedom to mix metaphors the resulting buildings could be outstanding. Their Gothic designs developed



throughout the quarter of a century Lockwood and Mawson worked together in Bradford and reflected a growing interest in first Italian and later french Gothic detailing. Some of the early Gothic designs did have a repetitive air and the feeling that ornament had been applied to a symmetrical frame. Designs after the Bradford Town Hall competition, however, showed a greater willingness to produce asymmetrical designs and ensure that fenestration was suitable for the use of the room behind. Buildings such as the Merchant Taylors' School and Airedale College had a much freer use of Gothic detailing and a willingness to blend forms. This is particularly true of the tower of the Merchant Taylors' School which pointed the way to the 'free-style' buildings which characterised the later decades of the century.

## POSTSCRIPT: THE PRACTICE AFTER 1877

By the late 1870s, the intention of spreading the work of the practice around the country appears to have been successful. Lockwood had gained a number of large commissions in London and had clearly forged good links with the Civil Service and Merchant Taylors' Company. A steady stream of work continued to flow into their offices from Bradford and neighbouring towns, and the firm had secured prestigious commissions for work in Nottingham (the University College), Hull (the Midland Bank), Merseyside (the Merchant Taylor's Boys School), and Dublin (the Markets).

Lockwood and Mawson's success in the latter competition was announced in the *Builder* in June 1878, but at 10.30 am on Sunday 19 July, Lockwood died at his house 'Heron Court' in the fashionable area of Richmond in Surrey. The *Bradford Observer* noted that although 'he found wider scope for his professional abilities by his removal to the south, his health suffered by the change'.<sup>(1)</sup> Although Lockwood's state of health was felt to have been 'feeble' for some time, no immediate concern was apparent until shortly before his death. Not surprisingly the *Bradford Observer* was lavish in its praise of Lockwood:-

'He was a man of considerable culture, and, in his own profession especially, a diligent student of art...We regret his death as the loss of a gentleman of great accomplishments in his special vocation, of notable friendliness of disposition, and of sincere attachment to Liberal politics.'<sup>(2)</sup>

Lockwood was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery in London on 24 July 1878.

The death of the senior partner at a time when the practice was enjoying probably its most successful period of the 1870s left the Mawson brothers to ensure completion of the University College in Nottingham and the replacement mortuary chapels at the joint stock cemetery at Undercliffe in Bradford. Shortly before his death, Lockwood's links with the Merchant Taylors Company had also secured the firm the task of designing a school for the Company on Merseyside, and they were busy with the designs for two banks - one in Wakefield and one in Hull; the drawings for which had been completed only days before his death.<sup>(3)</sup> They were also occupied with the enlargement of two buildings, their own Keighley



Mechanics Institute and a warehouse on Burnett Street in Bradford's Little Germany.

Although Lockwood was the major architectural talent of the firm, William Mawson's skills as a clerk of works, coupled with the architectural talent of his younger brother Richard, who had been a partner in the firm since 1856, meant that the practice did not cease but was simply renamed W. & R. Mawson. It seems likely that much of the design work in West Yorkshire was carried out with little input from Henry Lockwood after 1874 when he left for London, and therefore his death probably had little impact on the Bradford office, though it did mean that the London office had to close. Although it is not known how many assistants the practice employed (twelve assistants had worked full-time to complete the Bradford Wool Exchange designs <sup>(4)</sup> in 1864), even by the end of the century, when arguably the glory years of the practice were over, they still employed 'an efficient number of assistants'. <sup>(5)</sup> One of these was Robert Hudson who had joined the firm in 1869 and served his apprenticeship with Lockwood and Mawson before finally becoming Richard Mawson's partner in 1886 as William Mawson retired. <sup>(6)</sup> Similarly, a nephew of the Mawson brothers, Francis Mawson Rattenbury was articled to the firm at the age of eighteen in 1885. He was an outstanding talent who remained with the firm for seven years, his name appearing on the drawings for the Cleckheaton Town Hall published in the *Architect* in 1892. <sup>(7)</sup> He however left later that year to seek his fortune in Canada where he designed some exceptional hotel and public buildings.

The practice therefore retained a wealth of talent which ensured the work of the firm did not come to an abrupt end. In fact the Mawson brothers headed the firm as joint partners until William's retirement in 1886. It then continued until 1904 (a further eighteen years) with Richard Mawson and Robert Hudson at the helm before the younger Mawson himself died. Even then, Robert Hudson appears to have continued in practice until at least 1912 still under the name of Mawson and Hudson and still from the offices in the Exchange Buildings, Bradford. <sup>(8)</sup>

The years after the death of the founder would not see the practice enjoying the same status however. This was not necessarily because of a lack of talent on the part of the surviving

partners, but could equally be explained by the changed economic circumstances and different political arena in Bradford, the greater competition amongst architects, and ultimately the appointment by the Corporation of a city architect.

## **THE WORKS OF W. AND R. MAWSON**

Lockwood's untimely death at a busy time for the practice meant that the Mawson brothers' first works as partners involved the completion of projects begun or won in competition under the previous regime. Straightforward projects such as the Mortuary Chapels at Undercliffe Cemetery were quickly completed and the more ambitious Dublin City Markets were executed without any controversy. The University College at Nottingham proved more problematic however. The building opened in 1881, but was forced to close two years later due to structural defects.<sup>(9)</sup> It is unclear whether these problems were the responsibility of the architects (and given William Mawson's skills this seems unlikely), but the problems were so serious that the building did not reopen until 1890.

The death of Henry Lockwood appears to have coincided with the cessation of the close links with the Congregationalists and instead it was the Anglicans who would provide two commissions for the Mawson brothers before William Mawson's retirement in 1886. The first of these involved the rebuilding of Bradford's Christ Church in 1879 (156). The original church was built in 1813 and originally stood in a semi-rural location.<sup>(10)</sup> The massive development of central Bradford in the following sixty years meant however that by 1879 it was in an awkward location and was acquired by the Corporation to enable street improvements to be carried out in Darley Street, just behind Lockwood and Mawson's Kirkgate Market. The £10,000 paid for the site by the Council meant that a new site off Manningham Lane could be acquired and a new church built.<sup>(11)</sup> W and R Mawson's new Christ Church followed the pattern established for the practice's Gothic churches and was consequently in the Early English style with an apse at the east end in a slightly later Decorated Gothic. Stylistically, they were therefore following the established form chosen for church buildings by Lockwood and Mawson.



In 1884, the brothers carried out a second commission for the Anglican Church when they constructed a new chancel and refitted the church of St David at Airmyn near Howden (160, cxxi).<sup>(13)</sup> The works were extensive involving the erection of a substantial chancel and organ chamber, the taking down of a gallery, removing all existing pews and designing new seating and a reading desk. The architects provided a very detailed specification split into sections for excavator, mason and bricklayer, carpenter and joiner, plumber and glazier, plasterer, slater and painter. This defined clearly how the work was to be carried out and specified the materials to be used. Consequently Heaton Park or Shipley stone was required for the steps, Ancaster for chancel arch and windows, whilst harder Idle stone was required for the copings. The walls were of 'red pressed brick'<sup>(14)</sup> to match the existing walls and the roof was to be covered with 'best Buttermere round headed green slates (mixed sizes 18 to 36 inches)...having 3 ½ inches of lap'.<sup>(15)</sup> Similar restrictions were placed on the carpenter's choice of timber and formation of mouldings. Unlike many church 'restorations' of earlier in the century, the specification demonstrates a much more sensitive treatment of the church by the architects despite the fact that the original building was not of great age or architectural quality. Consequently, the east window was reused, and timber from the galleries used for the repair of the floor in the nave which was to be lowered. Disturbed graves were carefully redug with monuments replaced and 'mort-safe' railings cleaned down and repainted. Monuments in the original east wall of the church were also carefully taken down and repositioned in the new chancel. The detailed specification, which runs to 18 pages, even specified the company to supply the cast-iron 'water spouts' (the famous MacFarlanes of Glasgow), and was almost certainly the work of William Mawson.<sup>(16)</sup>

Airmyn Church is the last known work ecclesiastical work of the Mawson brothers, as William was to retire in 1886. Much of their work in the late 1870s and early 1880s, however, involved commercial buildings rather than churches, and they were also involved with the alterations of a substantial house for one of the wealthiest of Bradford wool merchants.

Lockwood must have died only a matter of days after the drawings for the Yorkshire Banking Co. in Hull's Whitefriargate (153, cv, cvi) were submitted. Given Lockwood's ill-health

shortly before his death, it is hard to imagine that he had much of a hand in the production of the plans. Curiously though the building is almost a cameo tribute to Henry Lockwood, as it employs many of the favourite features and devices used by the practice over the previous thirty years. Consequently the bank was a stone *palazzo* with fluted Corinthian columns, and ground floor windows with massive heads in the keystones and triangular pediments to the first floor. The building was erected by the end of 1879.<sup>(17)</sup>

Similarly, the plans for the extension of a wool warehouse at 8 Burnett Street in the Little Germany area of Bradford (145) were submitted before, but approved after, Lockwood's death. This was the enlargement of a building designed in the 1850s by Andrews and Delaunay.<sup>(18)</sup> In similar fashion, W and R Mawson extended a warehouse at 39 Well Street (155), the plans for which were approved in the January of 1879.<sup>(19)</sup> Such modest commissions are indicative of the general slump in building activity in the Bradford of the last quarter of the nineteenth century when even the most prestigious of architects were forced to take on small-scale projects.

Rather more impressive was the commission to design the 'Victoria Chambers' on South Parade in Leeds (157). This was an Italianate building of red brick with stone dressings and so very much the Leeds vernacular for late-century commercial buildings.<sup>(20)</sup> These office buildings too appear to have been completed shortly after Lockwood's death.<sup>(21)</sup> In 1880, the Mawson brothers proved that they could also design in the Gothic style when they built the Halifax Commercial Banking Co. Ltd. buildings in Commercial Street, Halifax (158, cxxii).<sup>(22)</sup> This was the Mawsons' only piece of secular Gothic, but was competently handled. There were large arched windows on the ground floor with Venetian Gothic windows above and a continuous arcade of smaller windows on the second floor. An attic storey with lucarnes with similar windows to the first floor and a steep pavilion roof demonstrate the continued influence of French architecture even after Lockwood's death and the fenestration is closely based on the Bradford Town Hall model. The tourelles on the end pavilions were more unusual though they would be a feature of Rattenbury's subsequent designs in Canada.

The relationship between the practice and the rich industrialists of Bradford continued after



the death of Lockwood evidenced by the commission they gained to alter Hornby Castle near Lancaster (159, cxxiii).<sup>(23)</sup> This commanding building was said to date back to the thirteenth century and was acquired by John Foster, owner of the Black Dyke Mills in Queensbury Bradford, in 1861 for £200,000. On his death, the estate passed to his son William who commissioned the Mawsons to build a new wing to the east of the keep 'so as to take away the lop-sided appearance'.<sup>(24)</sup> The work clearly impressed a contemporary writer who considered that 'the castle as a whole now presents a complete and imposing appearance, the frontage being tastefully broken by towers, battlemented cornices, turrets and mullioned windows'.<sup>(25)</sup> The architects were probably also involved in the refurnishing and refitting of the house, and the restoration of the keep which was felt to be 'insured for several hundred years longer than would otherwise have been the case'.<sup>(26)</sup> This work, which included the extensive laying of concrete floors 'resting on solid iron joists', would probably not have been considered quite so beneficial today. In a spirit of philanthropic largesse, William Foster apparently carried out 'many alterations...for the bettering of the condition of the inhabitants and the improvement of the appearance of their dwellings'<sup>(27)</sup> in the estate village of Hornby itself. Again, it is likely that the Mawsons were involved with this work.

Although a relatively extensive commission, such patronage pales into insignificance in comparison with that which the practice had enjoyed from Titus Salt throughout the third quarter of the century. By the 1870s few of the Liberal politicians, who had supported the architects throughout the previous twenty five years, were taking an active part in civic life. The Liberal party itself was, like the Congregational Church, in something of a decline in Bradford and the architects' basis of support was therefore on the wane.

Clearly such lucrative commissions were therefore becoming extremely scarce towards the end of the century, though it is a measure of the esteem in which the practice continued to be held that they gained such work. The younger architects in Bradford such as H. & E. Marten, Waugh and Isitt, and James Ledingham were generally restricted to designing large middle-class houses rather than individual mansions for the extremely wealthy, as the century drew to a close.

The final commission which must have been undertaken shortly before William Mawson's retirement was appropriately a memorial to Sir Titus Salt. The 'Palace of Delights' (161, I) was a series of permanent and temporary buildings around a landscaped garden behind the Institute in Saltaire built to mark the tenth anniversary of Salt's death. The buildings were to house exhibitions of art treasures and 'Scientific, Educational, Industrial and Social Appliances'<sup>(28)</sup> and included exhibition sheds (modelled on the 'inventions exhibition at South Kensington'), flower shows, a maze with electric railway, centrally-placed illuminated fountain and grandstands. The main building was directly behind the Institute and housed the main Science and Arts Schools. Stylistically, the building reflected the Italianate architecture of the rest of the village with its pedimented entrance door, but otherwise the style was in the stripped 'mixed Renaissance' style of the later Bradford Board Schools. The commission illustrated that the relationship with Salt's sons continued to be good, and it was fitting that the project should be Mawson's last given the practice's quarter of a century of involvement with the village.

## **MAWSON AND HUDSON**

In 1886, at the age of 58, William Mawson retired from the architectural practice to concentrate on arbitration and valuation work and indulge his passions for travelling and shooting.<sup>(29)</sup> At this point, Robert Hudson, who had worked for the practice since 1869, became a partner and the practice was renamed 'Mawson and Hudson'. The elder Mawson died on 25 April 1889 at 3 Clifton Villas in Manningham, the house he shared with his younger brother.<sup>(30)</sup> He was buried at Undercliffe Cemetery where his grave is marked by an impressive obelisk carved with Masonic symbols and complete with a bronze medallion of the architect (cxx).

The new partnership did not enjoy the same volume of business as their predecessors as the last quarter of the century was a period of consolidation in Bradford rather than the frantic growth which had characterised the previous fifty years. With the loss of the original partners of the firm, the major talent had undoubtedly gone. Although contemporary descriptions of the practice continue to refer to the amount of business carried out by the firm and its



excellent reputation, it was clear that much of this was based on past glories, and all the buildings singled out for special mention in contemporary articles were in fact the work of Lockwood and Mawson<sup>(31)</sup> rather than the later partners.

They did however gain two important commissions. The first was the erection of the town hall at Cleckheaton (163, cxxiv), a small town with a population of around 10,000, on the outskirts of Bradford. The building was begun in 1890 and completed two years later, and appears to have been a commission gained without the usual rigmarole of an architectural competition.<sup>(32)</sup> The building was a 'free-style' composition little influenced by the earlier works of Lockwood and Mawson. The principal rooms were at *piano nobile* level with a large public hall, flanked by wings containing board and committee rooms and municipal offices. The main hall was entered through a grand entrance in the foot of a monumental tower, whilst the committee rooms and offices had separate side entrances. The detailing, with its Flemish gables, oriel window based on Sparrowe's House at Ipswich and solid tower topped by a turret of rather eastern appearance, was extremely fashionable in late-century Bradford. The attractive composition was harmonious but lively, and contrasted markedly with Lockwood's Gothic designs which were often based on a symmetrical framework. The building was illustrated in *The Architect* in 1892, and bears the inscription of Francis Mawson Rattenbury.<sup>(33)</sup> The ability to interpret styles and details from a range of countries and building vernaculars would be a characteristic of Rattenbury's work in Canada and it seems clear that his was the major hand in this design, given the much less accomplished designs which the practice produced after his emigration.

The other significant commission which they gained was their last traceable building and came after winning the competition for the design of a new fire station in Bradford (166, cxxv). They were chosen first from 44 entrants and gained the first premium of £100.<sup>(34)</sup> The large building was built around four sides of a rectangle with a main engine house off Nelson Street, officers' quarters attached and along the short sides, and stables and workshops at the rear of the site adjoining the railway. The building had a high hose tower, whilst a gymnasium was provided above the engine house in the main building. Stylistically, the building was in a late century free-style with blocky square piers beside the doors to the

engine houses supporting a plain fascia. Above however, the terminal features had Italianate round-headed windows below a dentil cornice and the rest of the windows were stripped down transom and mullion forms. The attached cottages were relatively plain but with large mullion windows, and string and plinth courses.

In the old tradition of Lockwood and Mawson's entries in design competitions, the fire station competition victory was controversial. A competitor (whose design was subsequently illustrated in *The Builder*<sup>(35)</sup>) wrote to complain that the building committee displayed the drawings without telling the competitors, and chose Mawson and Hudson's design which 'embraced three distinct schemes.'<sup>(36)</sup> Clearly the successors had learnt from the tactics of their former masters.

Rattenbury's entrepreneurial flair may have been behind an extraordinary approach to the Bradford Corporation which Mawson and Hudson made in 1890 regarding the design of back-to-back houses (162, cxxvi).<sup>(37)</sup> Such properties were the most common housing unit in Bradford, accounting for 77% of the housing stock in the 1850s.<sup>(38)</sup> The Corporation tried on numerous occasions to outlaw such buildings which were felt to be at the root of many of the town's sanitation and health problems. Although no new back-to-back houses were approved by the Council after 1870, the legislation adopted was not retrospective, and previously approved plans continued to be built into the 1920s.<sup>(39)</sup>

The Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890 allowed Local Authorities to clear unsanitary areas of dwellings.<sup>(40)</sup> Mawson and Hudson obviously felt that if they could design a housing unit which overcame many of the problems manifest in the town's back-to-back houses, yet was capable of being built at high densities, then the Corporation might feel disposed to clearing large areas of the town and replacing them with houses to their designs.

Mawson and Hudson submitted a report with nine different housing layouts. It criticised even the improved back-to-backs of the late nineteenth century because they lacked through ventilation and the shared yards and privies resulted in a lack of privacy and constituted a danger to children using them at night. The architects' favoured proposal involved



dovetailing houses in rows of narrow cottages (known locally as ‘through-by-lights’) and they submitted designs to the Corporation in July 1890. Bureaucratic inertia meant that the architects were forced to report again on 1 March 1893.

‘Gentlemen, in July 1890, we had the pleasure to introduce to your notice cottages, whereby a through current of air from front to back could be obtained, and which could not be got in the present style of building. And, in addition to this, a great advantage is gained by bringing the housewife from the back living room to the front scullery overlooking the street while household duties are being performed, thereby making the houses healthier and more cheerful in every respect...we may also add those back-to-back cottages in the new system are nearly equal to through houses with their front and back streets for approaches’<sup>(41)</sup>

The proposals were considered in some detail by the Corporation. However, Mawson and Hudson’s ideas presupposed that the Corporation (which became the City in 1897) would build new houses within the central area where density would be a key criteria. In fact, those displaced by the City’s first clearance of the Longlands area, were rehoused on the edge of Bradford at Faxfleet Street in Wibsey.<sup>(42)</sup> As more land was available here, through houses could be provided. When the City did rebuild on the Longlands site from 1909, it overcame the density issue by building deck-access blocks.<sup>(43)</sup>

Mawson and Hudson’s proposals were resurrected early in the 1900s as support for a ‘Garden City’ movement in Bradford gained momentum. The revised scheme involved the same dovetailed ‘through’ houses but with gardens front and rear and consequently narrower asphalted roads between. To make economies in the construction costs, the architects proposed rough-cast walls for the houses, asphalted roads rather than setts and no outbuildings. The intelligence shown by the architects in the costing of the different options and their ability to balance economies against aesthetics shows that by no means all of the former partners’ skills had been lost.

The architects asked the City for its opinion before submitting Building Regulation Applications,<sup>(44)</sup> but were told that the Council would refuse the plans as the roads were too narrow for the bye law standard.<sup>(45)</sup> Three years later however, the City Surveyor amended the bye law to allow the ‘Garden City’ designs to be adopted.<sup>(46)</sup>

Such political manoeuvrings showed how powerful the Corporation was by the early years of the twentieth century, and how weak was the relative position of the private architect. In the 'glory years', Lockwood and Mawson gained commissions almost at will knowing that they could rely on the support of influential members of the Council. Lockwood even advised and helped arbitrate for the Corporation as it improved the area around Darley Street.<sup>(47)</sup> Mawson and Hudson faced a different scenario. The Council had its own officials to interpret its various bye-laws and requirements and it was therefore now judge and jury over the design of new buildings.

The other commissions which Mawson and Hudson gained were relatively mundane fare. In 1891 they were commissioned by the Baptists in Hull to build a Sunday School on the corner of the town's Trafalgar Street and Grosvenor Street (164, cxxvii). The building comprised a high school room with a timber barrel vaulted ceiling supported by restraining wires in the fashion of contemporary industrial buildings. Classrooms flanked the school room like the aisles of a church, whilst the southern end of the building was completed by a two-storey wing at right angles to the rest which housed further class and lecture rooms and teachers' rooms. Externally the red-brick building had fashionable 'half-timbered' gables of the Domestic Revival mixed with arched windows and twin entrance doors with vestigial arches above. The designs were passed by the Hull Corporation on 17 August 1891.<sup>(48)</sup> They were apparently also responsible for 'several of the palatial banking establishments in Park Row, Leeds'<sup>(49)</sup> though no details can be traced.

The rest of Mawson and Hudson's commissions appear to have been back in their home town. In 1895 they carried out some alterations to the west side of the Wool Exchange (165). This replaced the apse which helped light the exchange in Lockwood and Mawson's original designs with additional offices and shops. The infill was of little merit architecturally and was removed in the restoration and conversion of the building in 1997.<sup>(50)</sup>

Four years later, Mawson and Hudson were beaten into second place by T.C. Hope in the competition for the extension of another of Lockwood and Mawson's buildings, the Rawson Market (168). Lockwood and Mawson had built the first phase of the property at the same



time as the Kirkgate Market, and the extension was to provide a further market surrounded by shops and a hotel. Hope's designs completed the building in a suitable Italian Renaissance style and included two terminal buildings on the Northgate facade with domed roofs.<sup>(51)</sup> Mawson and Hudson claimed the second premium of £50 for their design.<sup>(52)</sup>

They were similarly unsuccessful with their entry in a competition to design a new museum and art gallery in Lister Park in the City, to be known subsequently as the Cartwright Hall (167). This was arguably the most important architectural competition in the City since the Town Hall competition of 1869 and attracted an impressive 115 competitors. Initially, the competition was open to Bradford architects only (probably because of lobbying by the Bradford Society of Architects), but was then widened with the result that the London architects J.W. Simpson (1858-1933) and E.J. Milner Allen (1859-1912) claimed the first premium for their outstanding *fin de siècle* Baroque design. Although unplaced in the competition, Mawson and Hudson's design did merit a write-up in *The Builder*. The commentator felt that the elevation was 'dignified and well-proportioned and with the plan goes to make a fine building'. It was however felt to be inconvenient for 'entertainments' and considered too costly to be built within the stipulated cost of £40,000.<sup>(53)</sup>

Richard Mawson died in London on 9 December 1904 after an operation on his throat. He was, however, brought back to Bradford to be interred, like his brother, at Undercliffe Cemetery. His obituary referred to his 'exceedingly courteous and refined manner, uniformly displayed to all with whom he was brought into contact'.<sup>(54)</sup> The architectural firm of Mawson and Hudson seemingly carried on after the death of the younger Mawson, however, as *Kelly's Directory* continues to list the firm up to 1912 at 2 Exchange Buildings<sup>(55)</sup>; the offices which the practice had occupied since 1870.<sup>(56)</sup>

The spirit of the practice appears to have waned after the death of Lockwood and Mawson. It must be remembered that the period in which Mawson and Hudson worked was, however, much more competitive with more architects bidding for fewer commissions. The groups of men who had supported Lockwood and Mawson did not have the same importance in the Bradford of the end of the century as the town's political and religious make up changed, and

as the town became a city with greater municipal powers. The decline of the practice cannot be simply blamed on a lack of talent on the parts of Richard Mawson or Robert Hudson. It is fair to say however that, with the exception of the Cleckheaton Town Hall, their designs lacked the assuredness and confidence of those of Lockwood and Mawson and the work they carried out was low grade in comparison with the major works such as the Wool Exchange, Bradford Town Hall or the building of Saltaire.



## **CONCLUSIONS**

The four principal aims of this piece of work were set out in detail in the abstract. They were: to establish the importance of Lockwood and Mawson and to demonstrate that they were more than just jobbing architects working in an unimportant provincial town; to consider why Lockwood and Mawson were so successful particularly when entering architectural competitions; to consider the stylistic development of the architects' work; and to look at the practice itself and how it developed.

### **THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCKWOOD AND MAWSON**

The chronological gazetteer attached to this work highlights the range of buildings which the practice produced in an extraordinarily successful career spanning 44 years for Henry Lockwood and 37 years in the case of William Mawson. Their output was clearly phenomenal, far exceeding that of other 'prolific' architects such as Alfred Waterhouse,<sup>(1)</sup> even when considering the design and construction of 840 houses at Saltaire as just four commissions.

It is worth then briefly considering why Lockwood and Mawson have been largely ignored in the numerous works on the architecture of the Victorian era. A principal reason is the concentration by many studies on the architecture of the established church. Certainly it is true that the Anglican and consequently the Roman Catholic religions fostered many of the important themes which were fundamental to the development of Victorian architecture. These include the nurturing and development of the Gothic style, the extensive church restorations promoted by groups such as the Cambridge Camden Society and the reaction against this which led to the formation of groups such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and the development of the arts and crafts movement which itself developed from the Gothic Revival. However, to ignore the architecture of the Nonconformist religions and their followers who were invariably Liberal in their politics, is to ignore vast swathes of the country, and in particular the architecture of towns which were essentially products of the Victorian era.

Lockwood had of course already established himself as an outstanding Neoclassical architect in Hull after completing his articles with P.F. Robinson and establishing his own practice in the East Yorkshire port. His design for the Trinity House Chapel demonstrates his mastery of the Classical language of architecture. The interior in particular has a jewel-like simplicity whilst the exterior is repose and well-proportioned. In contrast, his two major town chapels, the Great Thornton Street Wesleyan Methodist Chapel and Albion Independent Congregational Church, were correct Greek temples. These buildings, if they had survived further into the twentieth century, would have surely been considered amongst the finest of the early 'prestigious' Nonconformist chapels designed to reflect the growing status of the non-established religions and their congregations. Lockwood was amongst the first architects to adapt the correct temple form for use as a Nonconformist preaching space, and his work in Hull was paralleled only by architects such as Hirst and Moffat who built the Doric East Parade Congregational Church from 1839-41 in Leeds.<sup>(2)</sup>

Lockwood's early career also established him as a leading designer of workhouse and hospital buildings which was to continue throughout the partnership with William Mawson. Even before the designs for the Bradford Union Workhouse, Lockwood, at times in partnership with Thomas Allom, had designed workhouses and hospitals as far away as Merseyside. His early workhouse buildings obviously had a good reputation, as it is clear from the Bradford Union Workhouse competition that many of the Board of Guardians had either visited, or at least knew of, his Sculcoates Union Workhouse in Hull.

When Lockwood and Mawson moved their practice to Bradford, they must have done so because of the opportunities which a rapidly expanding town would bring. Clearly the town would need a whole range of chapels, workhouses, hospitals and other public buildings as its population boomed. The town was also staunchly Nonconformist and the Congregationalists (of which Lockwood was one) were in the ascendancy. The architects must have moved to Bradford with high hopes of success, though it is doubtful if even they could have dreamt that their influence on the architecture of the town would be so great.

Even though they built so many buildings in Bradford, their commissions were never solely



restricted to the town. During the work at Saltaire, which lasted a quarter of a century and would probably have kept most contemporary practices fully employed, Lockwood and Mawson were designing buildings throughout Yorkshire. Bradford was of course within easy reach of the other West Yorkshire towns, and Mawson would already have a knowledge of his native Leeds. The links between the leading industrialists in Bradford and their counterparts in other Yorkshire towns would therefore lead to commissions outside Bradford. Similarly, the links with Hull would lead to a gentle stream of commissions in the East Riding for many years after Henry Lockwood and William Mawson headed west.

Improved transportation links and the dissemination of ideas and knowledge in the Victorian era meant that an ambitious architectural practice need not be restricted to its home town base. Lockwood and Mawson entered, without success, the Great Exhibition competition, but five years later, in 1856, they were awarded second premium for their design of an Infantry Barracks for the Government in London. The same year, and presumably because of the quality of their competition design, they were employed to design a rifle factory at Enfield Lock. London would of course become the base for the practice's second office and, as the recession bit in the West Riding in the 1870s, Lockwood's home. The name of Lockwood and Mawson therefore became well known in London particularly due to the design of the City Temple, the Law Courts competition entry and the Inns of Court Hotel. Lockwood also seems to have had a particular impact in the Holborn area where he designed a number of commercial properties.

Bradford and London were the major centres of the practice's work, but their phenomenal success in architectural competitions took them further afield. Similarly, their reputation particularly for designing large industrial buildings led to a commission in Kidderminster and it seems, others in France, Belgium and Germany. The practice's successes in the competitions for the Nottingham University and Dublin Markets appear to indicate that Lockwood and Mawson were on the verge of becoming truly national architects just before Lockwood died. Lockwood and Mawson cannot therefore be dismissed as secondary provincial architects. The geographical spread of their work alone rebuts such a charge.

The importance of periodicals such as *The Builder* in spreading the news of competitions, and in disseminating ideas and illustrating buildings meant that even if an architect was designing a building miles from London, it was not necessarily unknown to the rest of the country. The number of letters generated by discussions on the vagaries of the architectural competition is testament to how widely read the journals were. Provincial towns were, it seems, not so easily dismissed in the Victorian era as they perhaps are today. *The Builder* in particular regularly ran features specifically on the different towns and was quick to note major new developments particularly when they had been featured in local newspapers.

Bradford was far from being an unimportant provincial town. Its massive population growth made it one of the fastest growing of all Victorian towns. When unveiling a statue to his mother in Bradford in 1904, King Edward VII commented 'surely, throughout the King's dominions, there are few places where a statue of Queen Victoria is more appropriate than in Bradford, for is it not essentially a city of the Victorian era?'<sup>(3)</sup> Whilst the colossal growth of the city during Victoria's reign led to a commensurate spread of social problems, it also nurtured a number of individuals who developed solutions to these problems and ensured that Bradford was at the forefront of many of the positive features to emerge from the Victorian era. Philanthropists like Titus Salt gave Bradford considerable prominence during the third quarter of the century, and the range of buildings he commissioned Lockwood and Mawson to design at Saltaire were widely revered in the periodicals at the time. Similarly the fireproof construction methods, consideration of facilities for hygiene and methods of reducing pollution were all techniques which would be publicised and adopted in industrial and workhouse buildings throughout the country.

In W.E. Forster, Bradford had one of the leading figures in the educational reform movement and his leadership meant that Bradford was at the vanguard of the provision of schools. Lockwood and Mawson, together with many of the other premier Bradford architects, would benefit from commissions from the new school boards which like Titus Salt's school at Saltaire, would be widely praised in technical journals.

Whilst its reputation was largely founded on practical issues rather than aesthetics, Bradford



was by no means a stylistic backwater. The ability of the city fathers to attract John Ruskin to speak to them twice demonstrates this, as does the desire of some of the top 'national' architects such as Burges, Waterhouse, Webb and Shaw to enter competitions in the city. Waterhouse had already designed a bank in the town in 1857 and Burges and G.G. Scott were personal friends of some of the most important Anglican Tories in the town. These men were also staunch supporters of the Pre-Raphaelites and were responsible for promoting artists such as Rossetti amongst the wealthy industrialists of the north. Whilst the staunchest supporters of such 'bright young things' tended to be men like Aldam Heaton, whose religious and political persuasions were not the same as Lockwood and Mawson's, their influence on the developing taste and culture of Bradford and consequently neighbouring towns within the region which sought to emulate buildings in Bradford, should not be underestimated. The Liberal Nonconformists were keen to demonstrate in every possible way that the Anglican Tories did not have a monopoly on taste and that the buildings which emanated from their patronage were fitting monuments to their influence and power. To achieve this, their buildings had to be functionally and stylistically up to date to demonstrate how forward thinking their regime was. Time and again, Lockwood and Mawson beat off competition from architects held in high esteem today to gain commissions for important public buildings.

Lockwood and Mawson's designs had a tremendous influence on buildings throughout West Yorkshire. They were the first to design industrial buildings with any real architectural pretension and the Italianate style became virtually *de rigueur* for wool mills throughout the north. Their incorporation of sanitary facilities into the staircase towers became a hallmark not just of their industrial buildings, but also of their workhouses, and again these were features widely accepted as good practice and quickly adopted by other architects. They developed the Italianate style to produce *palazzo* warehouses which amply illustrated the wealth and prestige of the worsted merchants of Bradford. Their design for a wool warehouse for Titus Salt on Bradford's Leeds Road together with the contemporary Milligan and Forbes warehouse by Andrews and Delaunay were the role models for a generation of commercial buildings at the most important period of their development.

The design of the St George's Hall in Bradford was also an important role model. It was the first public 'hall' in Yorkshire and was quickly emulated by Leeds. Although Lockwood and Mawson were beaten into second place in the Leeds Town Hall competition, by Lockwood's former pupil Cuthbert Brodrick, its Classical form was not without its similarities to Lockwood's work. Indeed, throughout their parallel careers, Lockwood and Brodrick appear to have retained similar views on architectural design which presumably developed whilst they worked together.

Similarly the Mechanics Institute which Lockwood and Mawson designed for John Crossley in Halifax was probably the first such building conceived in such a palatial manner certainly in West Yorkshire and probably in the north of England. The Institute in Saltaire which they designed for Crossley's friend Titus Salt fifteen years later set new standards in the provision of adult education and was again widely vaunted seemingly by all those who saw it. Both buildings were highly influential, the former particularly in the West Riding, whilst the latter, through widespread publicity was considered an exemplar of what could be achieved.

Lockwood and Mawson were also highly accomplished designers of markets and their designs for the Kirkgate Market in Bradford again set a standard which neighbouring Yorkshire towns were quick to follow. The architects of course extended the retail market and erected a large wholesale market in which the sanitary delivery of foodstuffs to the market-place was the prime motivation. Contemporary reports of these buildings suggest that they were unequalled outside London. The quality of their market designs is further illustrated by their successes in the Hull Markets competition in the late 1840s and the Dublin Markets competition shortly before Lockwood's death which illustrate their competence from the early days until the end of the partnership.

By the 1870s the practice seems to have enjoyed something of a national reputation. Their fame as designers of chapels for the Congregational faith lead to their being invited to design the City Temple in London. This was the faith's 'cathedral' - the most important Congregational church in the country for one of its most dynamic ministers. In terms of prestige, this was the pinnacle of the practice's religious building designs. By the time they



had been chosen as architects for the City Temple, the practice had demonstrated that they were experts in the design of highly prestigious buildings which could seat large numbers of worshippers who all were assured a direct view of the pulpit (regardless of whether the building was Gothic or Classical). They were also adept at providing additional facilities to fulfil the 'ministry' of the church which often included school and meeting rooms and accommodation for caretakers and chapel officials.

The firm's reputation was not founded solely on its religious buildings however. They developed a considerable reputation for their workhouse buildings and were extremely successful in winning commissions for such edifices. They developed a tried and tested design which provided efficient, segregated facilities for the different classes of inmate in an economical manner. Today workhouse buildings such as that at Carlisle are 'Listed' as fine examples of work by nationally-renowned architects.<sup>(4)</sup>

Their expertise in the design of large industrial complexes also gained Lockwood and Mawson an excellent reputation which led to commissions far away from West Yorkshire. The contemporary reports of the 'works' at Saltaire betray the awe with which reporters were struck at the scale, efficiency and sublime beauty of the building. Everything about the building, from the integration of a number of manufacturing processes into one huge building, the scale of the fireproof construction, the incorporation of features to minimise accidents and pollution from chimneys, the incorporation of features to reduce the amount of water extraction necessary from the river to the construction of the building using an army of sub-contractors was, if not unique, probably never previously undertaken on such a scale.

The firm's expertise in the design of educational buildings also appears to have spread their reputation far beyond West Yorkshire. Clearly the Institute and schools at Saltaire and the Feversham Street School in Bradford were well publicised and undoubtedly supported their commissions gained for the Nottingham University and the Merchant Taylors' School on Merseyside. The gymnasium at Cheltenham College however predates these and must have come about either due to personal recommendation or on the strength of commissions connected to religious establishments or the workhouse 'Industrial Schools'.

Lockwood's talent was clearly an important factor in the success of the practice, but the role of William Mawson should not be dismissed lightly. It is clear that the elder of the Mawson brothers was an exceptionally practical man who was not without artistic talent. His particular expertise appears to have been as a surveyor and valuer, and the combination of this skill and Lockwood's talent meant that the buildings and indeed town of Saltaire which they designed were exceptionally well planned. The ability to design highly practical buildings which were also aesthetically pleasing undoubtedly goes a long way to explaining the success of the practice. The architects were operating in an exceptionally competitive market, and the Yorkshireman's reputation for care with money was probably founded in the Victorian era. Businessmen such as Titus Salt were willing to pay large sums of money, but only for buildings which would work for them (and of course give them a suitable return for their investment). Salt's comments about Lockwood's initial designs for the works at Saltaire illustrate the strength of his convictions, and the care with which he chose Fairbairn as structural engineer and insisted on employing an army of sub-contractors rather than one general building firm show his desire to keep careful control of the budgets.

By the time Lockwood and Mawson had completed the mill however, it seems that Salt had complete confidence in his architects and was prepared to entrust them with all his future building projects, recommend them to his friends and support them in competitions for public buildings.

The same level of trust appears to have been true of the Bradford Council. In the 1850s, the practice clearly had to work hard to demonstrate the practical and aesthetic qualities of their buildings, the Bradford Union Workhouse being a case in point. By the 1870s however, there appears to have been relatively little interference by the Council with the designs for the Kirkgate Market, which of course included the redevelopment of a large area of the city centre. By then, the architects were retained as advisors to the Council on buildings in the town centre, and their buildings seem to have been used as benchmarks against which other developments were judged.

Lockwood and Mawson were then an important firm of Victorian architects. They were



virtually the architectural dictators of one of the most 'Victorian' of British cities, had gained national renown for their attractive and highly practical buildings, and designed and built a complete industrial town which was held up as a model for dealing with many of the ills of the day. The practice was clearly a considerable size in terms of personnel. Lockwood's comment about the number of assistants working on the Wool Exchange competition is testament to this, particularly bearing in mind the number of other commissions (including work at Saltaire) current at that time. The firm was also clearly large enough to withstand the departure of William Mawson for a year's 'Grand Tour' in 1868. They were also one of the most successful practices of the era in terms of competition entries.

## **SUCCESS IN ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITIONS**

A second aim of this piece of work is to consider why Lockwood and Mawson were such phenomenally successful entrants of architectural competitions. Lockwood and Mawson were clearly fortunate that the patronage they enjoyed from many of the important industrialists particularly in the West Riding, meant that they gained commissions without having to enter architectural competitions. Even so, they were also particularly successful in the many competitions which they did enter. In the introduction to 'Victorian Architectural Competitions', Roger H. Harper credits Lockwood and Mawson with success in twenty of the thirty competitions they entered - probably the highest number of successes gained by any Victorian practice and, according to Harper, a 'strike rate' only bettered by J.P. Pritchett and Son of Darlington who won eighteen of the twenty four competitions they entered.<sup>(5)</sup> Whilst the number of competition 'wins' does not necessarily reflect the brilliance of the architects as competitions could be held for anything from the design of a small memorial to the design of the Great Exhibition, many competitions were probably not featured in *'The Builder'*, many winning designs were never built and there are and were inaccuracies in the reporting, clearly consideration of how such successes were achieved will help illustrate how the practice operated. In fact, as has been demonstrated, Lockwood and Mawson did enter more and win more competitions than they are credited with by Harper.

Lockwood and Mawson's success in architectural competitions in Bradford (which accounted

for eight of the entries listed in Harper, all but one successful) can be directly explained by their relationship with the important men of the town. The four most important commissions, for the Bradford Union Workhouse, St George's Hall, Wool Exchange and Town Hall, have been considered in full in the previous chapters. In a sense, they did not actually win their first competition in the town (for the Union Workhouse) but had managed to establish such a rapport with the important members of the Board of Guardians in such a short space of time, that it was their design which was built. Several of the Board members were influential men in the Corporation, and they had strong links with other Liberal Nonconformists in the City, which undoubtedly helped the architects win the St George's Hall competition together with those for a new church and school for the Congregationalists and later workhouse commissions.

The competition for the Wool Exchange was more unusual, however, and saw the architects face a threat to their supremacy through the agitations of the Anglican Tories in the Corporation. Whilst there seems little reason to suppose that the architects lost the support of their usual allies, there was a cross-party desire for the Exchange to be seen as up-to-date, and therefore in a suitable Gothic style. The Tory members on the Exchange Committee were clearly confident that such a design was beyond the scope of the local architects and encouraged several bright young Gothicists to enter. Lockwood and Mawson however out-boxed them by adapting an earlier Gothic design for the Hull Town Hall competition whilst emphasising the appropriateness of the Flemish Cloth Hall design for this particular setting.

By the time of the Bradford Town Hall competition, Lockwood and Mawson had clearly established their credentials amongst the Corporation, but just to make sure that they satisfied all the members of the competition committee they produced Classical and Gothic designs. By then their reputation in the town was so well established that many architects from the West Riding did not even bother to enter the competition. Their only unsuccessful entry in Bradford was in the House of Recovery Competition in 1868 which was won by Andrews, Son and Pepper despite Lockwood and Mawson's precaution of producing Italianate and Gothic designs.



The other competition entries outside Bradford illustrate the reputation which Lockwood and Mawson had established for the design of certain types of building. They won five out of the seven workhouse and infirmary competitions they entered outside Bradford (with a second place in one of the failures), they won three of the four exchange or market competitions they entered (with a third place in the Leeds Corn Exchange competition), and similarly won three of the four chapel competitions listed. Significantly, none of these chapels were for the Congregationalists, and Lockwood and Mawson were often chosen to design such buildings without the need to enter competitions. There are inaccuracies in Harper's work, as for example, they were the successful entrants from a large number of architects in the competition to design the Independent Congregational Chapel on Victoria Avenue in Harrogate, which is not listed.<sup>(6)</sup> Their only 'failures' in terms of building types were town halls outside Bradford where they were second to Cuthbert Brodrick in both Leeds and Hull.

The practical nature of many of the practice's designs obviously stood them in good stead in competitions for the design of workhouse buildings, where they had developed an adaptable plan form which could provide the necessary segregated accommodation economically and efficiently. The same was undoubtedly true of their chapel and market designs. By the 1870s, when more and more architectural competitions were being judged by professional architects, it is notable that they were successful in both of the last competitions listed in Harper, both of which were judged by Alfred Waterhouse. As a highly practical man himself, the efficient designs of Lockwood and Mawson's Nottingham University and Dublin Markets would appeal to the judge, despite the fact that the architectural style of the two buildings was very different from the designs of Waterhouse himself.

## **STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT**

A third aim of this work was to consider the stylistic development of the architects' work. Lockwood's solo career saw him establish himself as an exceptional Neoclassical architect in Hull. His early commissions were not exclusively in the Classical style, however, and he appears to have learnt a considerable amount about Gothic architecture, the Tudor Gothic style in particular, from his former teacher P.F. Robinson who had works on the subject

published. Robinson was also an exponent of 'picturesque' Gothic designs and, again, this influence is manifest in many of Lockwood's Gothic designs which had striking silhouettes, pierced parapets, large towers and chimneys, and abundant crocketed finials. The Tudor Gothic style characterised Lockwood's early private house, workhouse, school and college buildings, but was not used after the early 1840s.

Lockwood used other forms of Gothic for his early Ecclesiastical designs, often seeking inspiration from the ancient buildings in the East Riding some of which he studied, restored or made minor alterations to and whose features he often reproduced. Beverley Minster was, for example, used as the inspiration for the fenestration details of St John's Anglican Chapel in the town. This building, like his town chapels in Hull, was predominantly in the Early English style. His reproduction of Gothic detailing was exemplary, though its application to the buildings themselves was somewhat mechanical and was general applied to symmetrical buildings. Lockwood's use of First Pointed Gothic in the 1840s and Tudor Gothic even earlier was extremely fashionable however. Architects such as Pugin were designing churches in the Early English Gothic style in the 1840s, whilst Tudor Gothic had become extremely popular following Barry's rebuilding of the Palace of Westminster from 1836.

By 1840, Lockwood seems to have reverted to Classical forms as suitable for the range of public buildings and houses he designed. The inspiration for these designs may have been the York City and County Bank, a simple Classical building with Roman Doric pilasters to the two upper storeys designed by P.F. Robinson and G.T. Andrews whilst Lockwood was articled to the practice. Lockwood's Institute building adjacent to the Albion Independent Congregational Church in Hull had similarities with another of his former principals' buildings the De Vere House in St Leonard's Place, York, built in 1835. Throughout the 1840s, Lockwood expanded his Classical repertoire designing temple-like public buildings with suitably lavish interiors and simple Classically-inspired houses and lock-ups. Like most architects of the era, he continued to produce Gothic designs for ecclesiastical buildings at the same time.

Only after the forming of the partnership with William Mawson and the move to Bradford



did a passion for building in the Italianate style develop. The style was fashionable, having graced the major London clubs since the late 1830s, gained royal approval with the design of Osborne House on the Isle of Wight (built from 1845-51) and been used for the London station of the Brighton and Dover Railway designed by Henry Roberts from 1840-4. For Lockwood and Mawson, it became the principal style adopted for their buildings from 1849 until the early 1860s. The design for the Bradford Workhouse was the first use of the Italianate style by the practice and replaced the Tudor Gothic which had characterised Lockwood's previous workhouse buildings. The switch of styles is hard to explain. Lockwood had not in fact designed in the Tudor Gothic style since 1845, and it may be that the style was becoming out of date in the north. Certainly, Gothic styles generally were increasingly becoming associated with the Anglicans and Roman Catholics, amongst whose followers Third Pointed Gothic was itself becoming unpopular because of the Tudor split with Rome and the chronological adjacency to the Reformation. The architects probably felt that such a style would not be popular in a hot-bed of Nonconformity. Classical styles would be appropriate, but columnar forms were expensive and only really achievable on public buildings such as the St George's Hall. The Italianate style was perhaps considered the next best thing given its associations of wealth and grandeur. In Bradford's case, a direct allusion could also be drawn with the Renaissance merchants of Italy who made their fortunes from wool and constructed *palazzi* as testament to their wealth and importance.

Throughout the 1850s and early 1860s, Lockwood and Mawson built occasionally in Classical styles with the St George's Hall, Halifax Mechanics Institute, Providence Place Chapel in Cleckheaton and Saltaire Congregational Church being prime examples. All these buildings were, to a greater or lesser extent, built within relatively large budgets, and/or had a primary motivation in making a particular architectural statement on behalf of an individual or group.

During this period they also continued to design occasional buildings in the Gothic style. The Lister Hills Congregational Schools were apparently in the Geometric Decorated style making the building an exceptionally early piece of Nonconformist Gothic. In 1855, they also designed a small Congregational Church at Stanningley in the Gothic of the Early English period which had characterised many of Lockwood's earlier essays in the Gothic style. By



the early 1860s, the number of Gothic buildings they designed began to increase and the style was used for some of the houses at Mount Royd, Bradford, the Methodist Chapel in London's Warwick Gardens and the Harrogate Congregational Church, the latter two being in the Gothic of the late First-Pointed/early Second Pointed phase with geometric tracery.

It was around 1864, however, following the design of the Bradford Wool Exchange that the Gothic style began to characterise more of the practice's prestigious buildings. The lobbying by the Anglican Tories on the building committee for a premier Gothic building in the town was, it seems, supported by their Liberal counterparts who of course wanted to appear stylistically up-to-date. The surprise for the Tories was, however, that Lockwood and Mawson were capable of designing such a building. They had in fact already produced such a building in their alternative designs for the Hull Town Hall competition in 1861 and the Bradford Wool Exchange would echo many of the details from this earlier design.

So as not to divorce themselves entirely from the usual Italianate designs, the detail of the Wool Exchange was in the Venetian Gothic style. Its silhouette, however, owes much more to the cloth halls of Belgium; an allusion utterly appropriate for a wool exchange in the new worsted capital of the world. The architects were essentially mixing styles which they knew were likely to be favoured, as John Ruskin had waxed lyrical about the Venetian Gothic of the Manchester Assize Courts, whilst pictures of the finest buildings on the continent had been posted by the Tories before the Exchange competition was announced. It appears that Lockwood was not entirely happy with the way he felt his hand was being forced;-

‘an architect now is an antiquary, and he is looked upon by some, as the brightest genius who most servilely copies the works of the past - faults and all.’<sup>(7)</sup>

Despite this outburst, the practice subsequently designed a range of public buildings in the Gothic style even adopting the style for the Bradford Eye and Ear Hospital, the Leeds and County Bank and the Wesleyan Chapel in Saltaire, which had strikingly ‘Ruskinian’ Venetian Gothic windows. The best known example, however, is the Bradford Town Hall which, like the earlier designs for the Law Courts Competition, drew on continental buildings as a source of Gothic detailing. The Town Hall principally mixed Italian and French Gothic and a similar



combination of nationalities was simultaneously influencing their Classical designs.

Indeed the Gothic style appears to have become the norm for some building types designed by the practice in the 1860s and 1870s. They designed ever larger and more accomplished Gothic churches (still in thirteenth century Gothic style with geometric tracery) with the Congregational churches at Scarborough, Lightcliffe and Morley and the Baptist church at Scarborough being the finest examples. They also used the Gothic style when designing buildings connected with education (the exceptions being in Saltaire). The earliest example, the Gymnasium at Cheltenham College, used the polychromatic forms of the Wool Exchange, whilst most of the buildings adopted either the geometric Decorated forms of the church designs, or earlier Gothic styles using plate tracery which was presumably cheaper to produce. The Merchant Taylors' School at Great Crosby is an exceptionally striking Gothic design with much freer interpretation of Gothic forms than the equally fine Airedale College. Lockwood and Mawson's skill in handling Gothic forms clearly developed throughout their partnership.

Throughout their careers, however, Lockwood and Mawson continued to produce Italianate and Classical buildings, the latter being generally restricted to designs for Nonconformist Chapels of which the Sion Baptist Church, the plainer Friends Meeting House, both in Bradford, and the overtly exuberant City Temple in Holborn were the principal examples. At the City Temple, the homage to the 'city churches' of Wren and Hawksmoor was combined with a pedimented temple front with an extensively carved tympanum which gave it a French Renaissance feel. This growing influence of motifs from French Renaissance architecture became a particular feature of Lockwood and Mawson's Italianate buildings throughout the 1860s and 1870s.

Lockwood's early Neoclassical buildings had some of the qualities of French Neoclassical buildings particularly the sumptuousness of their interiors. In Britain, enthusiasm for Second Empire designs developed following the International Exhibition in Paris in 1855 when the architecture of the New Louvre became especially well-known. The first building by Lockwood and Mawson which obviously displayed features of the French Renaissance was

the Horton Lane Congregational Church in Bradford, the most eclectic of all Lockwood and Mawson's designs. This was produced virtually simultaneously with Sir Charles and E.M. Barry's Town Hall in Halifax, which had similar influences though both lagged behind the Leeds Town Hall design by Cuthbert Brodrick which had decidedly French influences in its grandiose scale.

The two hotels designed by the practice, the Inns of Court Hotel in London and Bradford's Victoria Hotel, were both strongly influenced by French Renaissance designs of the Second Empire, a style which had become popular for hotels since Hardwick's Great Western Hotel in Paddington in the early 1850s. The Inns of Court Hotel had the usual mixture of French and Italianate features, but the overall form had something of the qualities of the Pavilion Turgot at the Louvre in its Lincoln's Inn and Holborn frontages. The lucarne windows, pavilion roofs and fanciful decoration were all particularly French. The Victoria Hotel in Bradford was more in the style of the Great Western Hotel (both were railway hotels). Its Frenchness came from the chateau-like form rather than from ornate detailing.

The combination of Italianate and French styles became exceptionally popular for commercial buildings throughout West Yorkshire and was used in the majority of Lockwood and Mawson's banks, warehouses, clubs and even private houses. Whilst some of the buildings produced in this style began to have something of an 'off the peg' feel, some, such as the Law Russell Warehouse with its fantastic corner pavilion, were extremely imaginative and rank amongst the finest commercial buildings of the High Victorian era. Equally, buildings such as the Kirkgate Market in Bradford, with its imaginative use of iron and glass internally combined with an envelope of exuberant Franco-Italianate shops and offices, and with superb carved entrances with French pavilion roofs, set a standard for buildings in Bradford and was widely copied throughout West Yorkshire.

After Lockwood's death, the Mawson brothers carried on designing buildings in a similar fashion usually with Franco-Italianate styles used for commercial buildings and Gothic for ecclesiastical and educational buildings. Following William Mawson's retirement, the new practice of Mawson and Hudson, with influences from the young Francis Mawson



Rattenbury, moved with the fashion to design 'free style' buildings such as the Cleckheaton Town Hall which drew on architectural sources from around the continent.

Lockwood and Mawson were not particularly trend setters. Their buildings, though, were often exceptional examples of a particular type and genre and were generally widely respected at the time. Stylistically they moved with the times (from Lockwood's words perhaps not always willingly), and like many architects of the period, were prepared to design in different styles to suit different circumstances, types of building and client.

## **THE PRACTICE**

The final aim of this piece of work is to consider the practice itself and how it developed throughout the seventy years that the firm in its different guises operated; a period covering almost precisely the reign of Queen Victoria.

After serving his articles with P.F. Robinson and G.T. Andrews in York from 1830-4, Lockwood moved to Hull to set up practice on his own. Although he was relatively successful, he appears to have been actively seeking a partner. Initially he was joined for a short time by Thomas Allom with whom he designed chapels and workhouse buildings. This arrangement does not appear to have lasted more than three years. During a similar period, Cuthbert Brodrick was articled to Lockwood for six years, and in fact continued to work for the practice until the middle of 1844. Lockwood apparently offered him a partnership in the firm which he refused, and Lockwood worked alone until meeting William Mawson in 1849, a young architect who had just served his articles with the Leeds architects R.B. and J.B. Chantrell and John Dobson.

It seems that the new partnership continued to work in Hull for around a year before moving to Bradford, presumably because of the greater opportunities there. Lockwood and Mawson quickly established themselves in the town winning the Bradford Workhouse competition, the St George's Hall competition and being made Titus Salt's exclusive architects. The practice expanded rapidly as evidenced by Lockwood's comments that twelve people were

working on the Wool Exchange drawings in 1864.<sup>(8)</sup> As early as 1856, Richard Mawson became a partner in the firm, and Robert Hudson joined the firm in 1869, becoming a partner in 1886 when William Mawson retired. These were the principal players in the development of the firm, though they clearly employed a number of assistants throughout the second half of the century including Charles Heathcote and Francis Mawson Rattenbury who both went on to have distinguished careers.

Almost from the day they arrived in Bradford, Lockwood and Mawson appear to have been extremely successful, and this good fortune lasted into the 1870s. Clearly the depression in trade in the region in the early 1870s worried the partners sufficiently for Lockwood to develop the firm's profile in London which he continued to do until his death in 1878. The London office must have been established before Lockwood's permanent move to the capital, presumably it was used when the practice had commissions in London rather than being permanently staffed by members of the firm. It seems that the London office closed completely after Lockwood's death and the practice continued in a less ambitious way with commissions mostly in the West Riding.

By the early 1880s, the practice seems to have been in something of a decline with relatively few commissions. William Mawson's retirement brought Robert Hudson into partnership with the younger Mawson, but this did not coincide with an upturn in fortunes. The architectural climate in Bradford was becoming considerably more adverse than in the boom years of the 1850s and 1860s, and although the practice continued to pick up commissions and win competitions, the scale of building was considerably less than Lockwood and William Mawson had enjoyed.

By the early years of the new century, most of the commissions for public buildings were being dealt with by the new City Architect of Bradford and the chances for private architects were extremely limited. Despite their efforts to work with the Council, Mawson and Hudson's attempts to have their cottage building and 'garden city' designs adopted were ultimately unsuccessful. Although Richard Mawson died in 1904, Robert Hudson must have continued on his own but still using the name Mawson and Hudson as the practice still



appeared in the *Kelly's Directory* of 1912<sup>(9)</sup> though it must have petered out by the Great War.

Certainly the practice did not have the same success once the original partners ceased to be involved, though it appears to have continued to trade on former successes, with earlier famous buildings such as the Bradford Town Hall being cited as examples of the work of Mawson and Hudson. There were still commissions to be gained in turn-of-the-century Bradford, but a new generation of architects had taken over the mantle of Lockwood and Mawson. Pre-eminent amongst these was T.C. Hope who operated from the early 1860s through to 1916. He was President of the Bradford Society of Architects in 1889 and 1910, yet his only public buildings of note were the Technical College and the Rawson Market which was largely an extension of Lockwood and Mawson's Kirkgate Market.

Lockwood and Mawson had been the principal architects in Bradford at the most important era in its history. Their buildings and ideas had shaped the development of the town, and their ability to design churches, workhouses, mills and commercial buildings allowed them to spread their influence beyond West Yorkshire. Although they were not dictators of style, their prodigious, high quality output throughout the entire span of Victoria's reign, their influence on the architecture of the north of England and in the development of certain building types means that they should be rightly recognised as one of the most important architectural firms of the Victorian period.

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Yorkshire Post

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Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England (Cambridge)  
Scarborough Borough Council  
Trinity House, Hull  
West Yorkshire Archives, Bradford, Leeds and Wakefield



# **LOCKWOOD AND MAWSON**

## **OF BRADFORD AND LONDON**

### **PART 2: ILLUSTRATIONS**

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Leicester School of Architecture  
De Montfort University  
Leicester

November 1998

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE	SUBJECT	SOURCE
i	Dent's Cottage, Winterton	Author
ii	North Ferriby Estate	ERYRO ref. DDHB 31/10
iii	Kingston College	HCMAG
iv	Kingston College Gatelodge	Author
v	Holderness Ward British School	Dyson p171
vi	Brownlow Hill Workhouse (elevation)	RCHM mon. no.100746
vii	" " (plan)	O.S. 1848 Liverpool, Sheet 30
viii	Kirkdale Industrial Schools	O.S. 1889 CVI.2
ix	Sculcoates Workhouse	O.S. 1853 Kingston upon Hull, Sheet 3
x	County Rooms, Beverley	ERYRO ref. DDX 24/29
xi	Trinity House Chapel (section)	Trinity House Corporation
xii	" " (gallery)	Author
xiii	" " (dome)	" "
xiv	" " (apse)	" "
xv	" " (capital)	" "
xvi	" " (east front)	" "
xvii	" " (west front)	" "
xviii	Albion Ind. Congregational Church	RCHM ref. BB71/11568
xix	Great Thornton Street Wesleyan Chapel	HCMAG
xx	Hull Royal Infirmary (plans)	" " ref. 773.1981
xxi	" " (elevations)	" "
xxii	Sewerby Hall (lodge designs)	HU ref. DDLG 30/917
xxiii	" " (gatelodge)	Author
xxiv	" " (clock tower)	" "
xxv	The Institute, Hull	" "
xxvi	Driffeld Police House	" "
xxvii	Howden Police House (elevation)	" "
xxviii	" " (plans)	ERYRO ref. QAP 5/73
xxix	Burton Constable Hall (conservatory plan)	BCH ref. 1517
	" " (conservatory elevation)	" " 1518
xxx	Sewerby Hall (conservatory elevation)	HU ref. DDLG 30/914
	" " (conservatory plan)	" "
xxxi	Sewerby Hall (design for cottage)	" " DDLG 30/916
xxxii	Hull Zoological Gardens (prospect)	HCMAG
xxxiii	" " (plan)	HT 6/6/1916 p2
xxxiv	St John's Anglican Chapel, Beverley	Crowther p93
xxxv	St Mark's Church, Hull	HCMAG
xxxvi	St Stephen's Church, Hull	HCMAG
xxxvii	Holy Trinity Church, Hull (pulpit)	Author
xxxviii	St Mary's Church, Cottingham	Borth. ref. RWF 1844/7
xxxix	Saltaire Mill (elevation)	B. 1854 p439
xl	" " (plan)	B. 1854 p438
xli	Saltaire village (plan)	RCHM (Mills) p182



xlii	Saltaire Overlookers' Housing (plans)	John Ayers
xliii	Saltaire Housing	Author
xliv	Saltaire Congregational Church	" "
xlv	Saltaire Schools	" "
xlvi	Saltaire Almshouses	" "
xlvii	Saltaire New Mill	" "
xlvi	Saltaire Park Buildings	" "
il	Saltaire Congregational Sunday School	R/d from WYA ref. 72/D/92/9/3
l	Saltaire 'Palace of Delights'	Author
li	Saltaire Institute (plans)	John Ayers
lii	" " (elevation)	Author
liii	White Swan Hotel, Halifax	" "
liv	Mechanics' Institute, Halifax	" "
lv	St George's Hall, Bradford	John Ayers
lvi	Wool Exchange, Bradford (elevation)	B.13/8/1864 p601
	Design by R.N Shaw (inset)	R.A.
lvii	Wool Exchange, Bradford (plan)	B.13/8/1864 p601
lviii	" " (interior)	Author
lix	Hull Town Hall Competition Design	KHRO TLC 37/3/13
lx	Bradford Town Hall (interior)	B.N. 17/12/1869
lxi	" " (facade)	B.N. 18/2/1870
lxii	" " (tower detail)	B.N. 5/9/1873
lxiii	" " (plan)	B.N. 17/12/1869
lxiv	" " (other entries)	" "
lxv	London Law Courts Competition Entry	B. 23/3/1867
lxvi	Providence Pl. Cong. Chapel, Cleckheaton	Author
lxvii	Horton Lane Cong. Church, Bradford	Bfd.ALMD
lxviii	City Temple Cong. Church, London	A. 17/5/1873
lxix	Sion Baptist Church, Bradford	Author
lxx	Oxford Road Methodist Chapel, Harrogate	Author
lxxi	Warwick Gardens Meth. Church, London	SoL XLII pl.151
lxxii	Victoria Avenue Cong. Church, Harrogate	Author
lxxiii	Ramshill Rd. Cong. Church, Scarborough	B. 7/5/1864
lxxiv	" " (plan)	SBC
lxxv	Lightcliffe Congregational Church	Parker p499
lxxvi	St Mary in the Wood Cong. Church, Morley	Smith p135
lxxvii	Albemarle Cres. Baptist Church, Scarborough	Author
lxxviii	Lumb Lane Mills, Bradford	Bfd.ALMD
	Legrams Mill, Bradford	C.P. p66
lxxix	American & Chinese Export Co. Bradford	Author
lxxx	Law Russell Warehouse, Bradford	" "
lxxxi	Ferncliffe, Calverley	Pic. Views
lxxxia	Longwood, Bingley (elevation)	" "
lxxxib	" " (plan)	R/d from Sheeran p57
lxxxiii	Holmefield, Thornes, Wakefield	" " p53
lxxxiv	Cragg Royd, Apperley Bridge	Pic. Views
lxxxv	Woodleigh Hall, Rawdon	" "
lxxxvi	Mount Royd, Bradford (elevations)	Author

	“ ” (plan)	PO Bfd.
lxxxvii	Welton Police House	ERYRO ref. QAP 5/77
lxxxviii	Sproatley Police House	Author
lxxxix	Feversham St. Higher Grade School, Bfd.	A. 24/1/1874
xc	Airedale College, Bradford	A. 17/10/1874
xc i	Nottingham University	B. 15/10/1881
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xc iii	Mechanics' Institute, Keighley	B. 3/3/1869
xc iv	Bradford Union Workhouse (elevation)	John Ayers
	“ ” (plan)	O.S. 1906 216.08
xc v	Barnsley Union Workhouse	RCHM mon. no. 102161
xc vi	Hull Union Workhouse	O.S. 1893 CCXL.2
xc vii	Dewsbury Union Workhouse	O.S. 1905 232.15
xc viii	North Bierley Union Workhouse, Bradford	“ ” 102262
ic	Carlisle Union Workhouse (floor plans)	CAS ref. CaE 4/821
c	“ ” (section)	“ ”
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ci	“ ” (site plan)	CAS ref. CaE 4/821
c ii	Haslingden Union Workhouse	r/d from O.S. LXXI.12
c iii	Penistone Union Workhouse	RCHM mon. no. 100850
c iv	Yorkshire Banking Co. Bank St. Bradford	A. 16/11/1872
c v	Yorkshire Banking Co. Whitefriargate, Hull	KHRO ref. OBLM 5551
c vi	“ ” (elevation)	Author
	“ ” (section)	KHRO ref. OBLM 5551
c vii	Leeds and County Bank, Leeds	B. 2/7/1864
c viii	Stamford, Spalding & Boston Bank, Boston	Author
c ix	Liberal Club, Bank Street, Bradford	“ ”
c x	Bradford Club, Manor Row, Bradford	“ ”
c xi	Civil Service Supply Assoc. Covent Garden	B. 18/8/1877
c xii	Victoria Hotel, Bradford (elevations)	Bfd. ALMD
	“ ” (interior)	Author
c xiii	Inns of Court Hotel (Lincoln's Inn facade)	B. 4/3/1865
	“ ” (Holborn facade)	B.N. 9/6/1865
c xiv	“ ” (internal court)	B. 11/3/1865
	“ ” (plan)	B. 4/3/1865
c xv	Kirkgate Market, Bradford (elevation)	A. 19/10/1872
c xvia	“ ” (interior)	“ ”
c xvib	“ ” (plan)	“ ”
c xvii	St James' Wholesale Market, Bradford	O.S. 1906 216.08
c xviii	Airmyn Clock Tower	Author
c xix	William Mawson's Memorial	“ ”
c xx	Titus Salt's Memorial	A. 19/12/1874
c xxi	St David's Church, Airmyn	Borth. Ref. FAC 1884/4/9
c xxii	Halifax Commercial Bank, Halifax	Author
c xxiii	Hornby Castle, nr. Lancaster	Pic. Views
c xxiv	Cleckheaton Town Hall (elevation)	Author
	“ ” (plan)	r/d from A. 19/12/1892



cxxv	Bradford Fire Station (section)	r/d from WYA ref. 17729
	“ ” (plan)	WYA ref. 17729
cxxvi	Plan of Best Mode of Building Cottages	M.& H.
cxxvii	Baptist Sunday School, Hull (elevation)	Author
	“ ” (plan)	KHRO ref. 9125

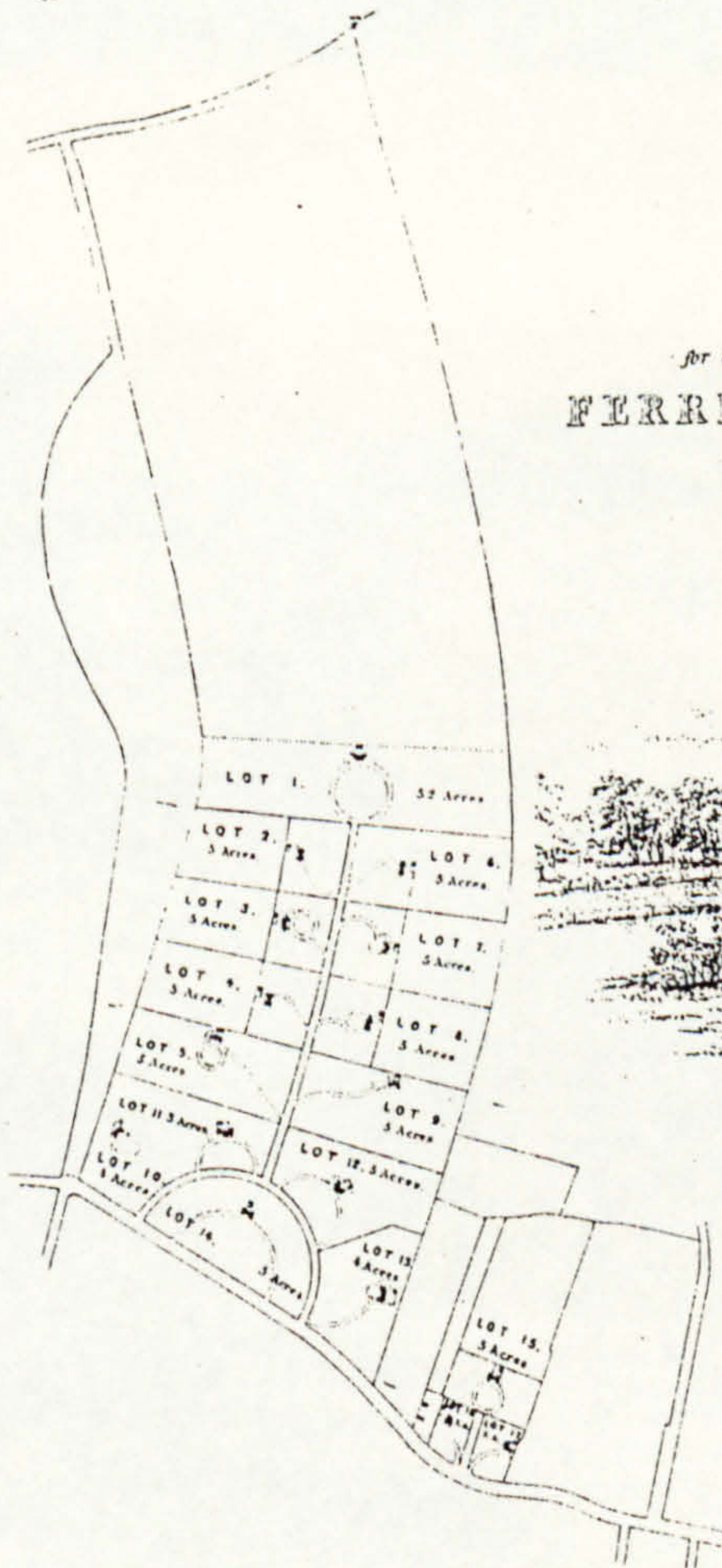
## Abbreviations

(see Part 1 for full details of references)

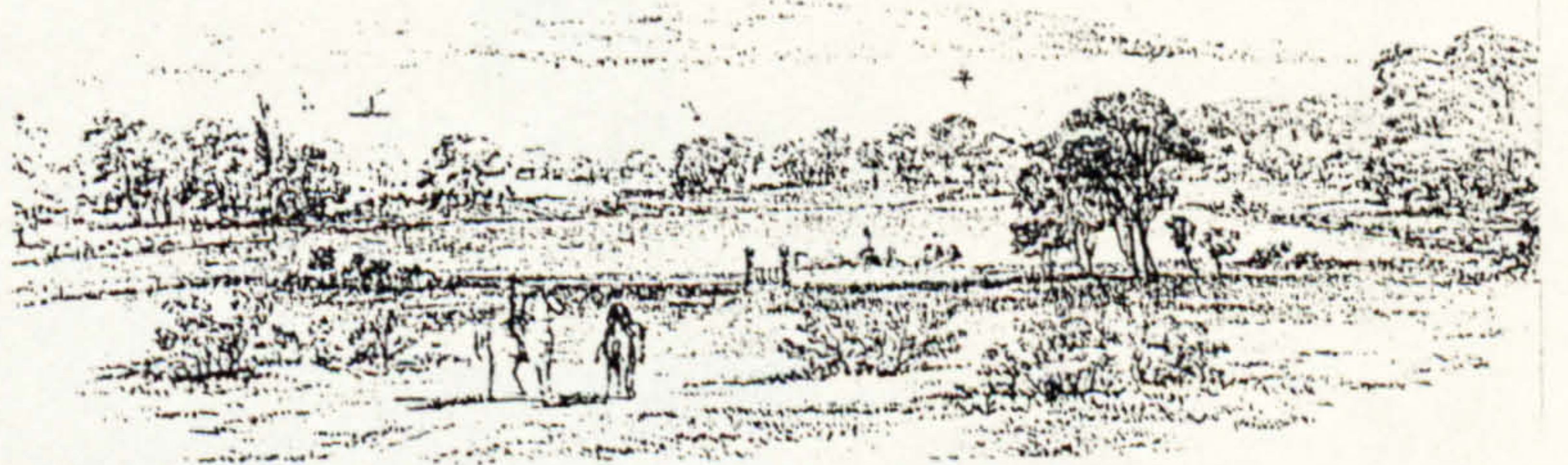
A.	The Architect
B.	The Builder
BCH	Burton Constable Hall
Bfd.ALMD	Bradford Arts, Libraries and Museums Division
B.N.	Building News
Borth.	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research
CAS	Cumbria Archive Service
C.P.	'The Century's Progress; 1893'
Crowther	J.Crowther: 'Beverley in Mid-Victorian Times'
Dyson	B. Dyson (Ed.): 'A Guide to Local Studies in East Yorkshire'
ERYRO	East Riding of Yorkshire Record Office
HCMAG	Hull City Museums and Art Galleries
HT	Hull Times
HU	Hull University
KHRO	Kingston upon Hull Record Office
M&H	R.Mawson & R. Hudson 'A Report on the Best Mode of Building Cottages'
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
Parker	J. Parker: 'Illustrated Rambles from Hipperholme to Tong'
Pic. Views	'A Series of Picturesque Views of Castles and Country Houses in Yorkshire'
PO Bfd.	Plan for the Post Office Bradford Directory, 1887-8
R.A.	Royal Academy
RCHM	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
r/d	Redrawn by the author
S.B.C.	Scarborough Borough Council
Sheeran	G. Sheeran: 'Brass Castles'
Smith	W. Smith 'The History and Antiquities of Morley'
SoL	The Survey of London
WYA	West Yorkshire Archive (Bradford)



- i **Dent's Cottage (top):** Gothic ornament applied to a building with a symmetrical plan. It was strongly influenced by the work of Lockwood's former tutor P.F. Robinson and his peers.
- ii **North Ferriby:** Like many architects of his generation, Lockwood became involved in property speculation as areas of land close to railway lines became ripe for development.

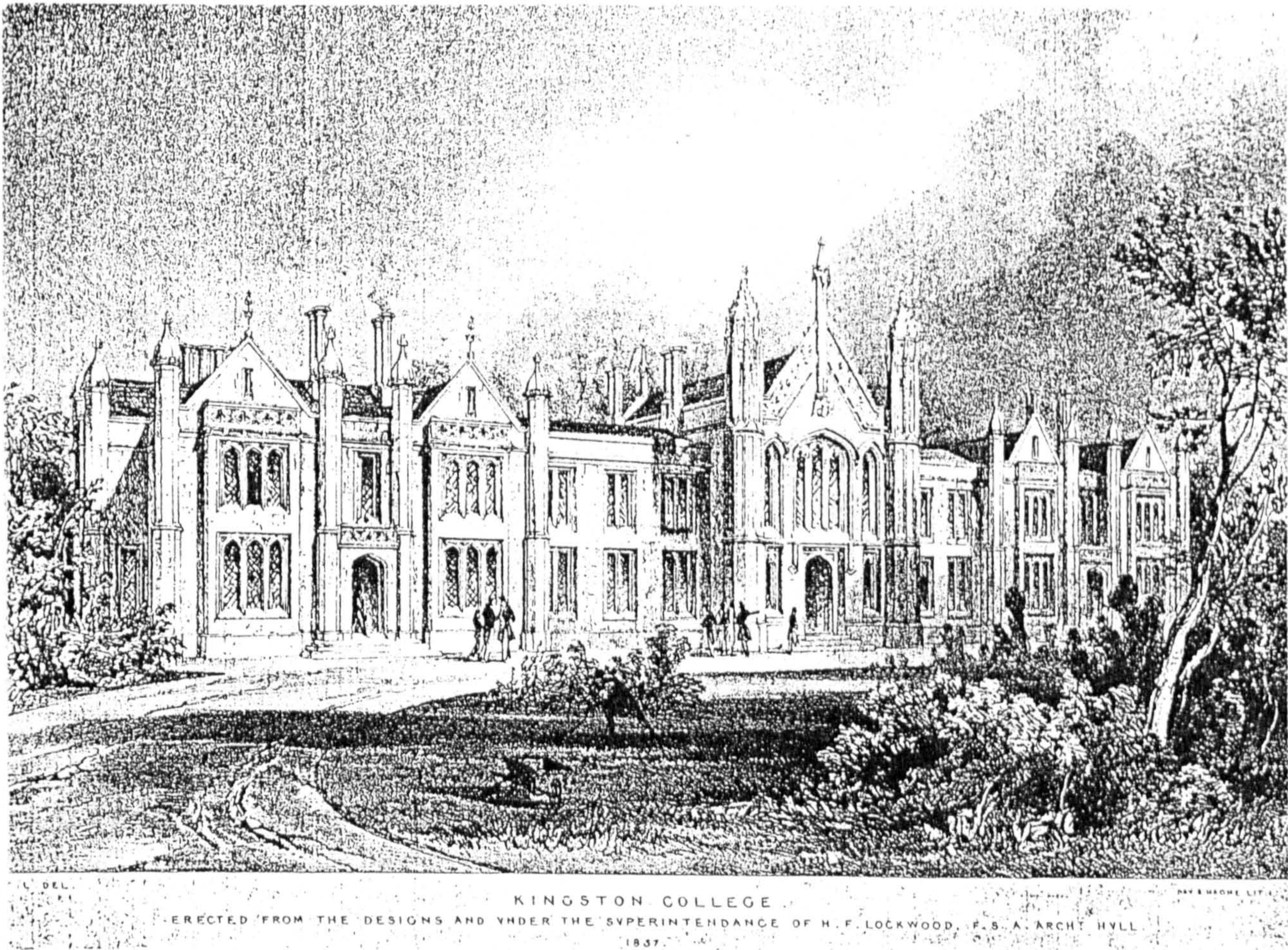


Plan  
for laying out the  
FERRIBY ESTATE.





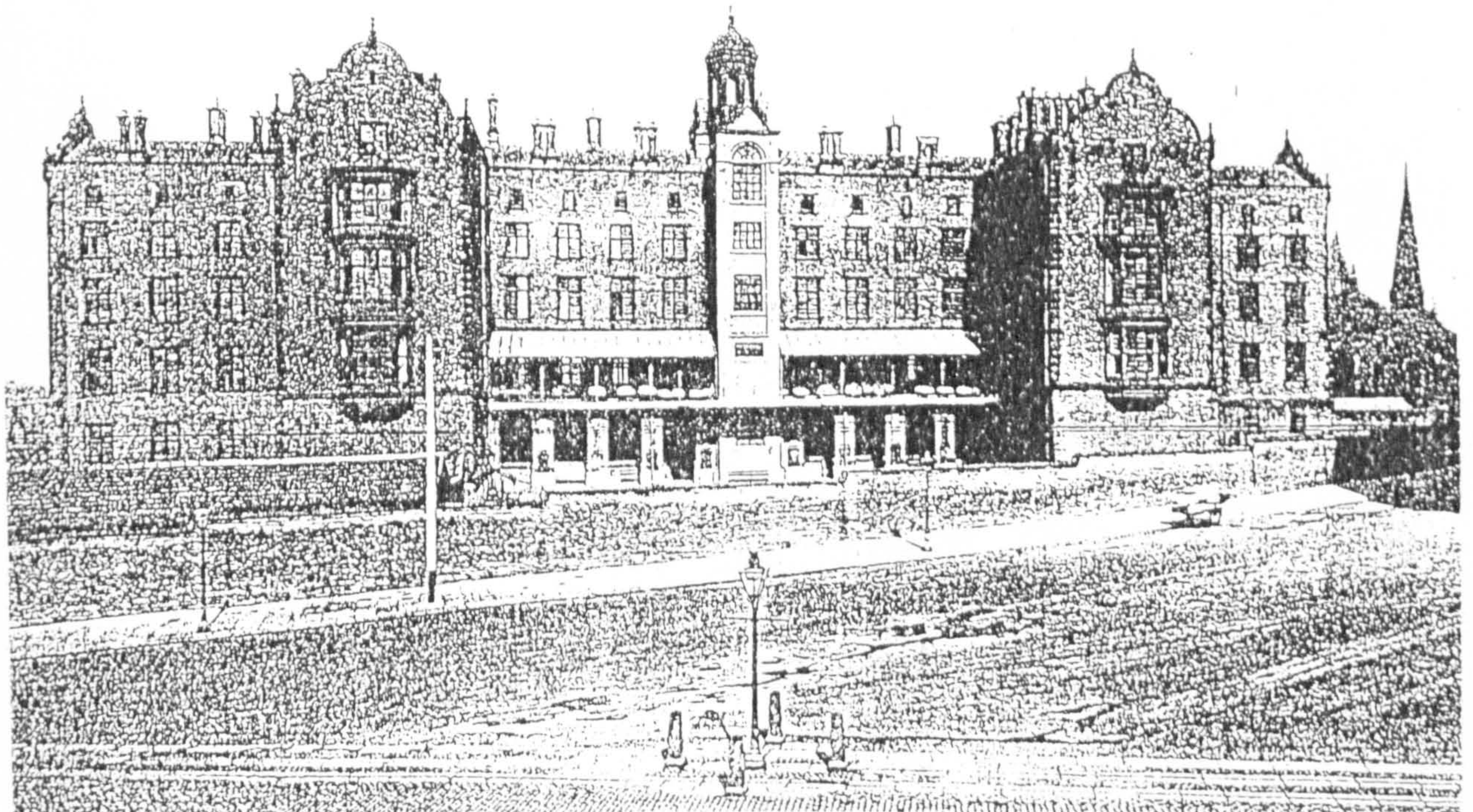
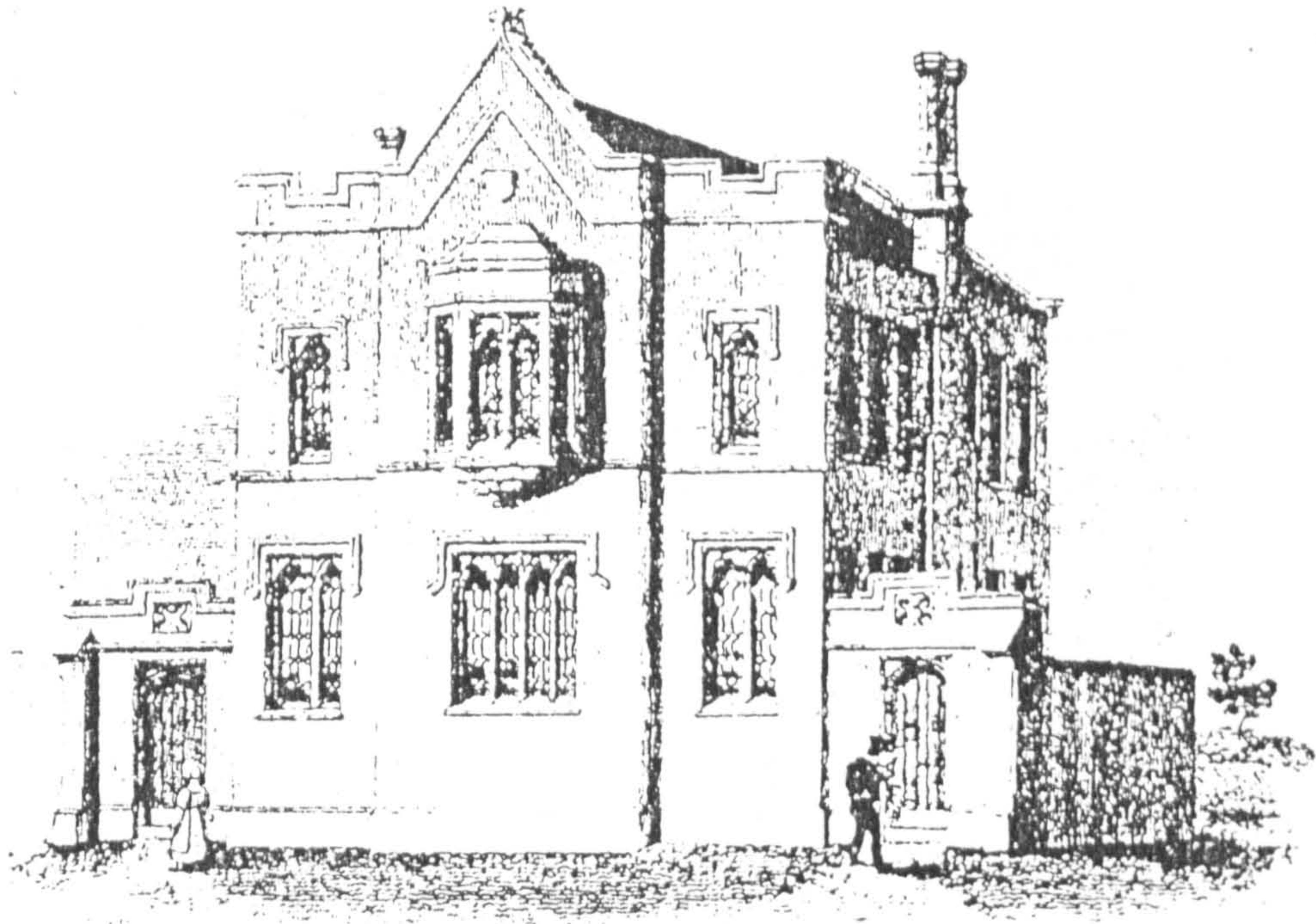
- iii     **The Kingston College** (top) was a large building in the Tudor Gothic style favoured by his former tutor for many of his commissions.
- iv     The **gatelodge** survives despite the addition of an unsuitable upper storey. The door surround appears to be modelled on the Bootham Bar at York. Note the surviving gate pier.





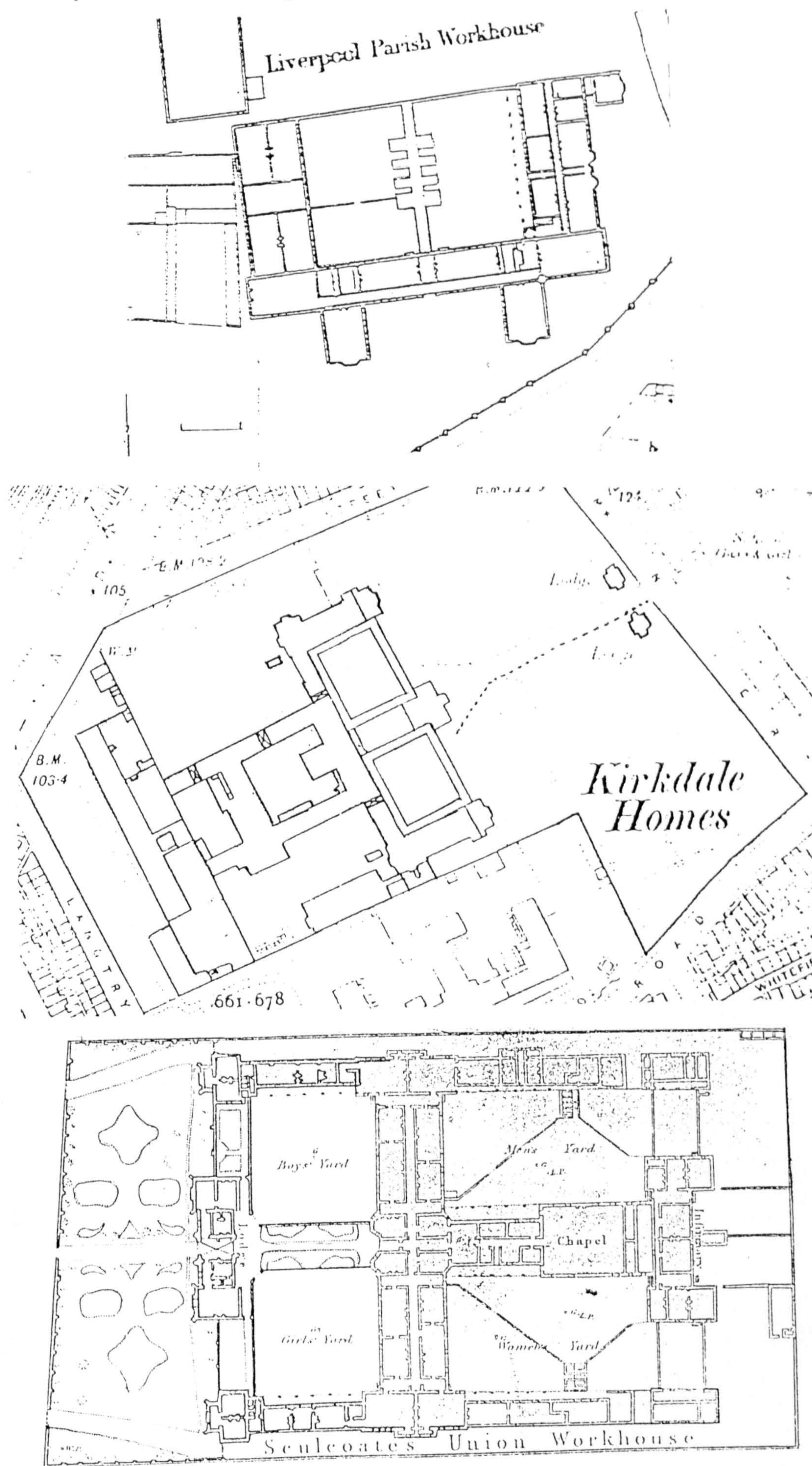
v **The Holderness Ward British School** (top) maintained the Tudor Gothic style of many of Lockwood's early buildings.

vi **The Brownlow Hill Workhouse** in Liverpool showed that the style, now with a decidedly Dutch influence, could be used on the largest of buildings.





Comparisons of **The Brownlow Hill Workhouse** (top), the **Kirkdale Industrial Schools** (Fig.viii, middle) and the **Sculcoates Union Workhouse** (Fig.ix, bottom) demonstrated that Lockwood was developing an adaptable plan form for his workhouse commissions. Note the differences in the layout of rooms and corridors particularly between the muddled arrangement in the Brownlow Hill design and the clearer plan in the Sculcoates design.





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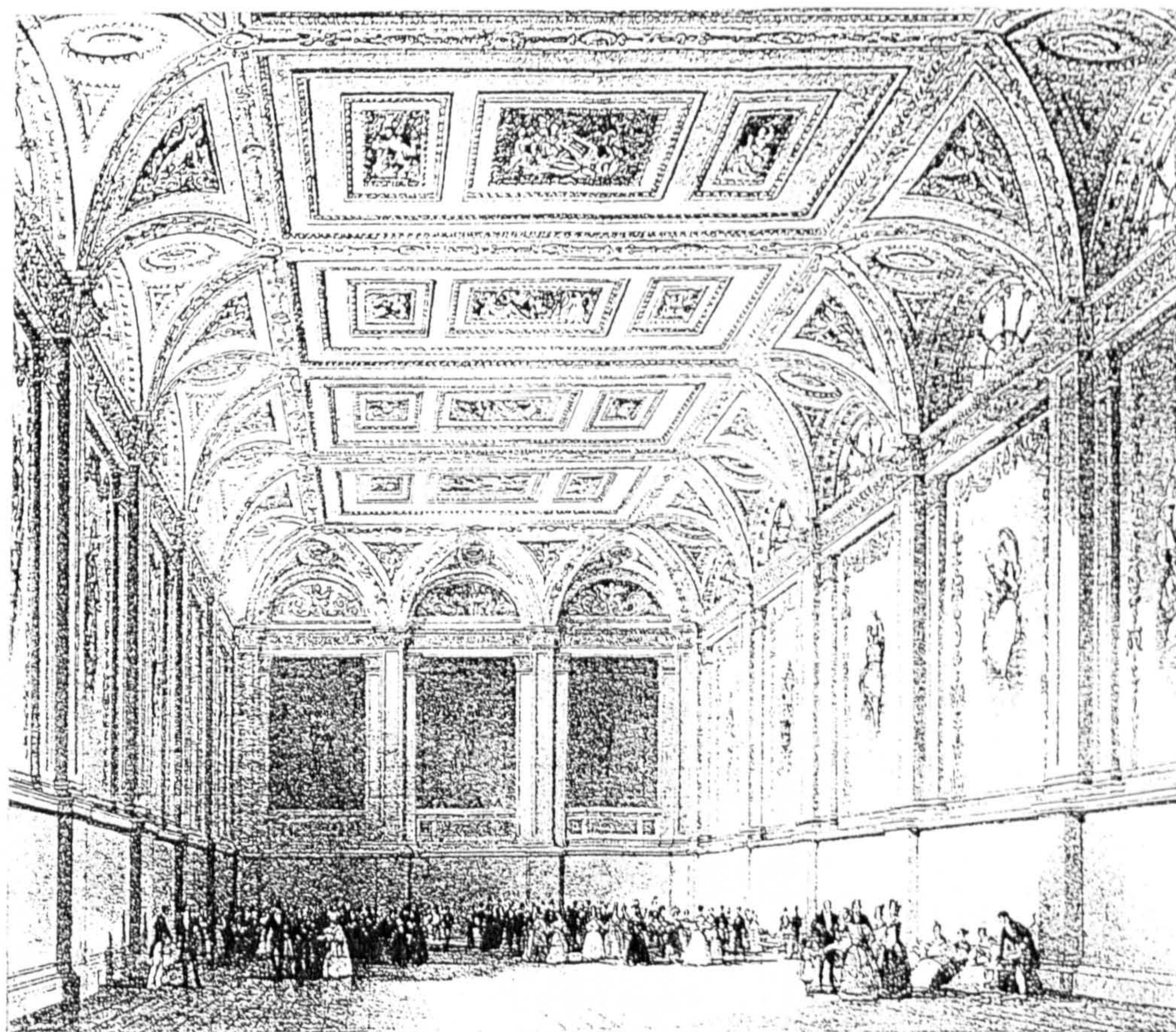


x

**The County Rooms at Beverley** were a lavish concert hall supposedly modelled on 'Roman baths' but with a decidedly French Classical interior.

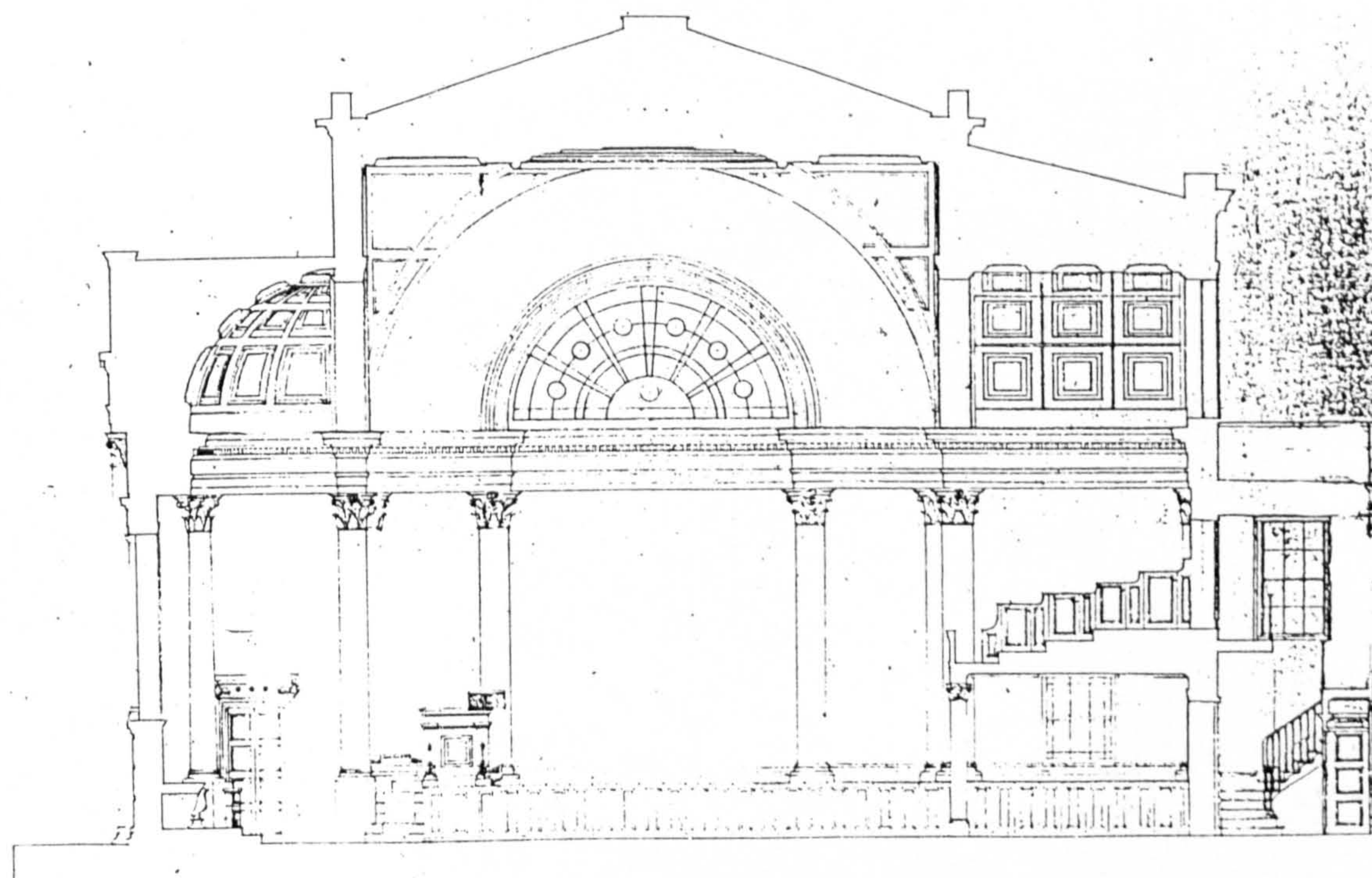
xi

**The Trinity House Chapel** was one of Lockwood's finest Classical buildings with a plan based on a Greek Cross



DESIGN FOR THE ROYAL HALL, BEVERLEY.

H. Lockwood Archt. & Bldg. Eng.





- xii Like many Nonconformist chapels of the nineteenth century the **Trinity House Chapel** had a gallery (top). The box pews were more typical of the early part of the century.
- xiii The ribbed dome (bottom) was the centrepiece of the chapel above the altar and was typical of Lockwood's lavish Classical interiors.





- xiv The coffered apse (top) was also a feature commonly used by Lockwood in his Classical chapels.
- xv The Corinthian capitals (bottom) were adapted to incorporate suitable maritime motifs including anchors, dolphins and seashells.



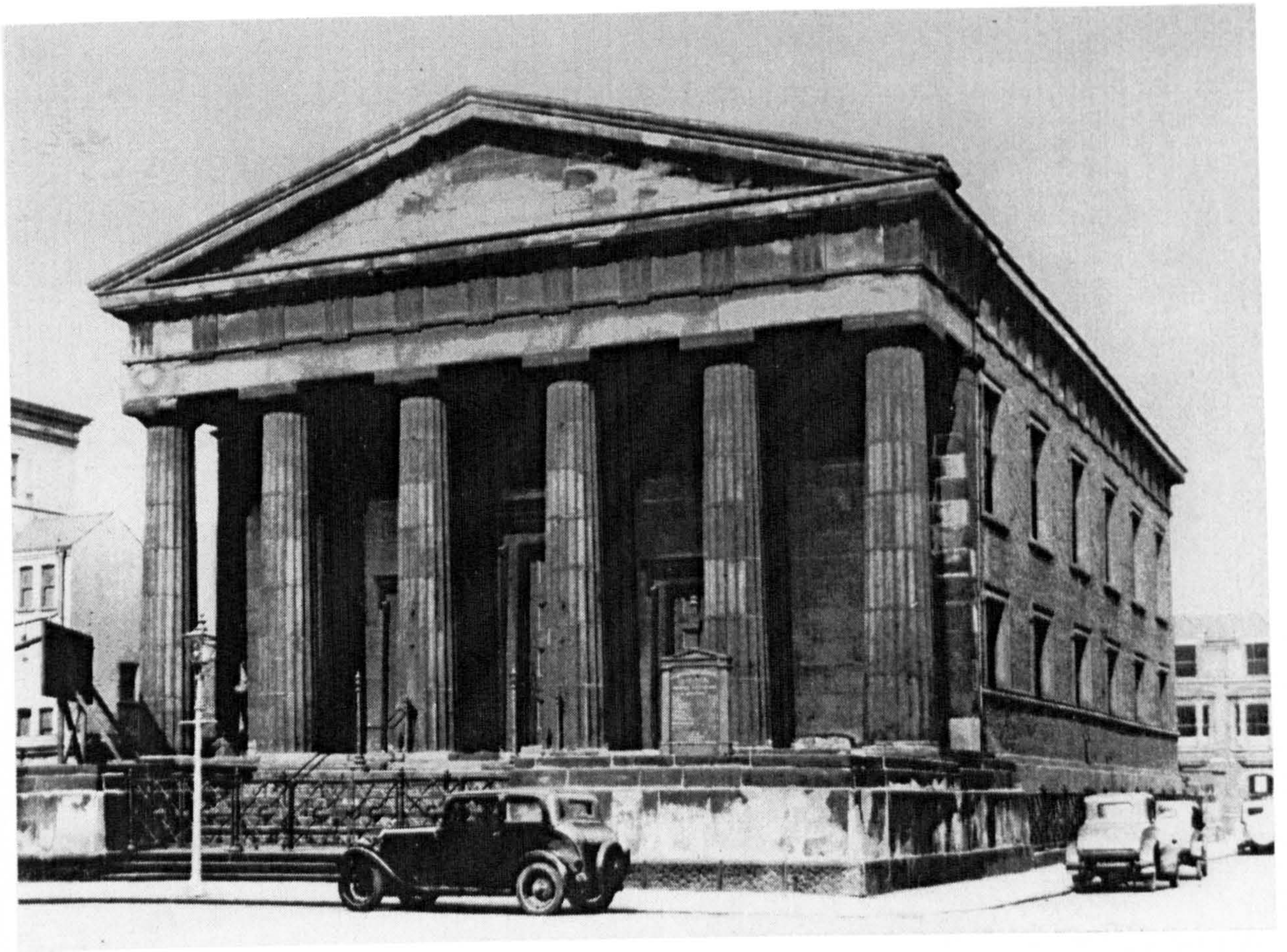


- xvi Although internally there was an apse at the east end, the external wall-plane was flat (top) and the building had a pedimented facade. The doors accessed lobbies on either side of the apse.
- xvii The west end (bottom) was, in contrast, stuccoed with a porch and high-level lunette window to light the gallery inside.



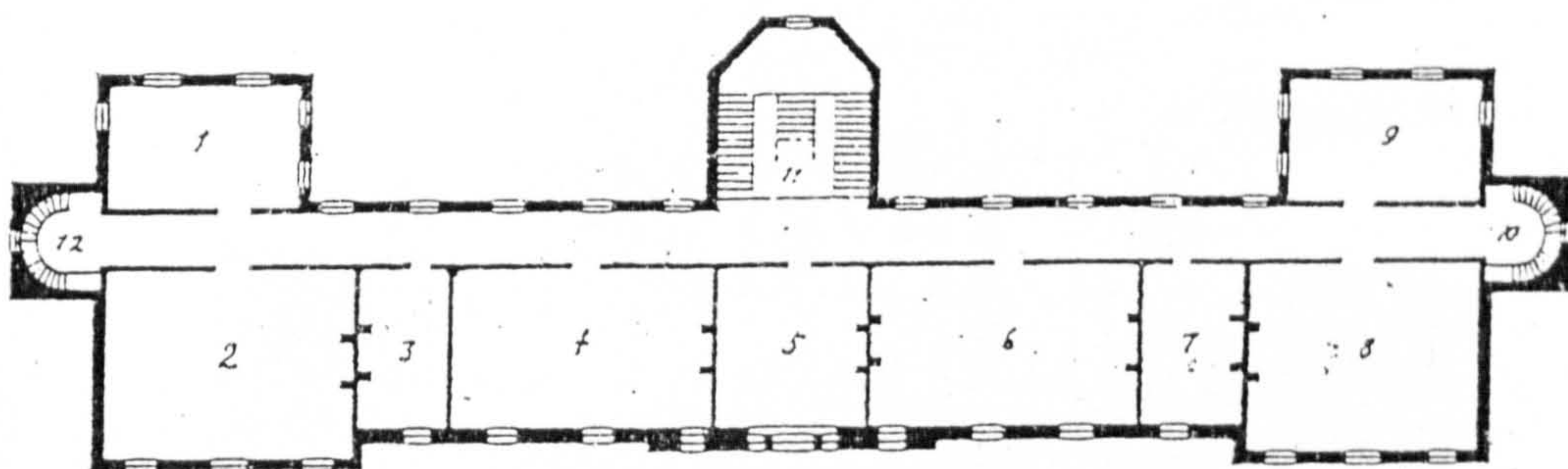


- xviii     **The Albion Independent Congregational Church** (top) was a giant Doric temple designed to make a great presence on the street.
- xix        **The Great Thornton Street Wesleyan Methodist Chapel** (bottom) was virtually contemporary and even more impressive with a Corinthian octastyle chapel linked to Doric pavilions.

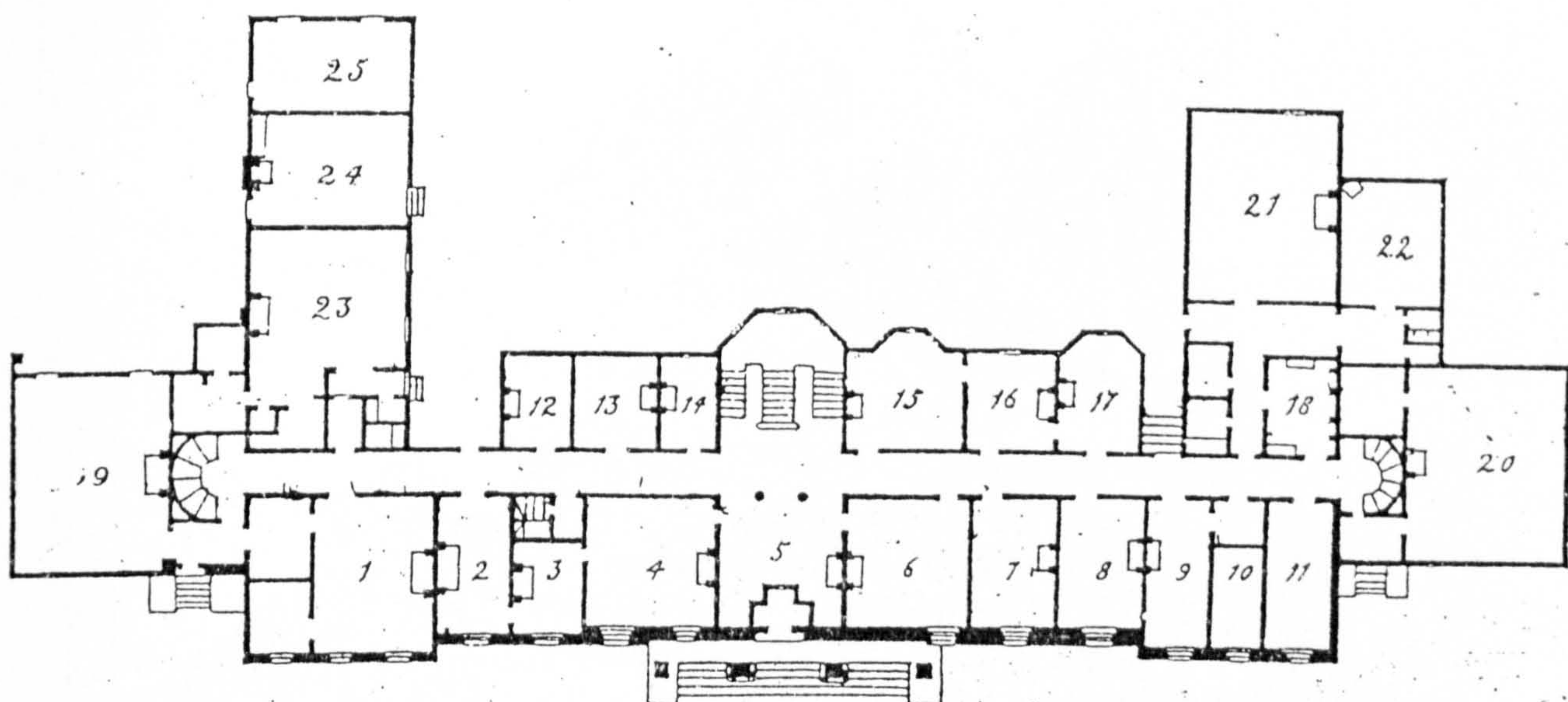




**Hull Royal Infirmary.** The plans show Lockwood's alterations which included the addition of a bank of rooms at the rear to create a central corridor leading to end wings.



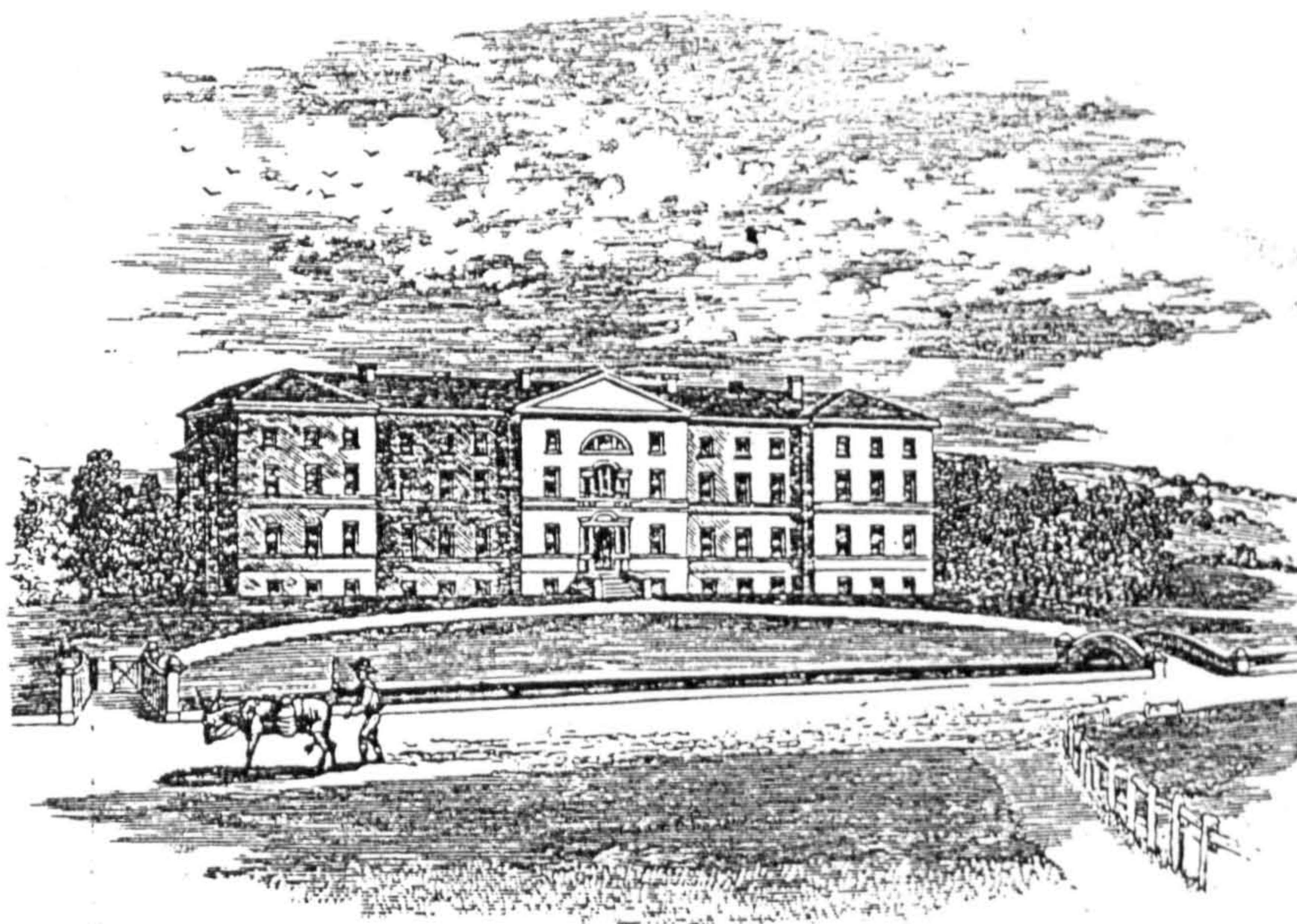
THE GROUND PLAN IN 1784.



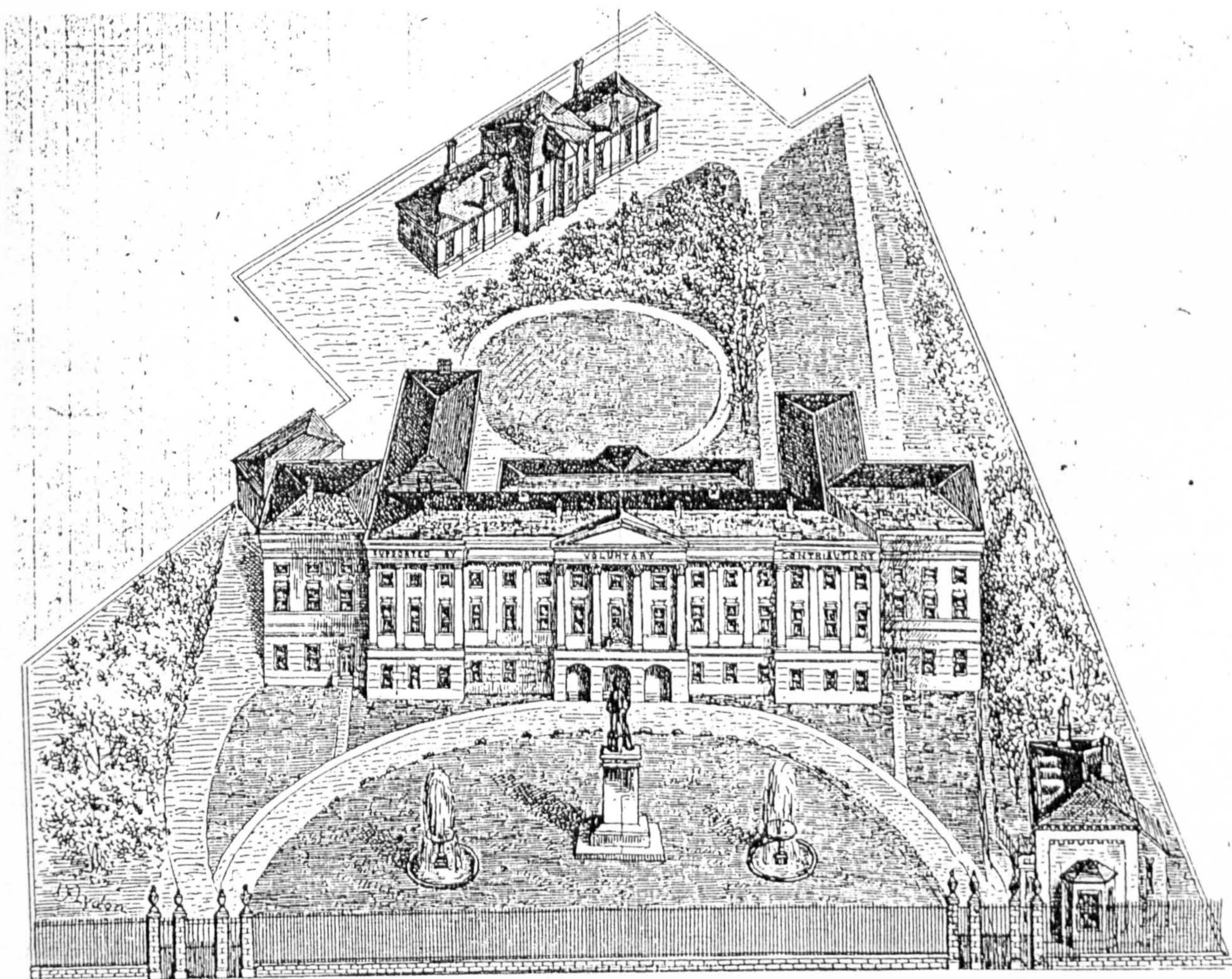
THE FIRST FLOOR PLAN AS ALTERED BY MR. LOCKWOOD



Lockwood refaced the **Hull Royal Infirmary** to replace the Palladian exterior with a freer Neoclassical style. Given the form of Lockwood's earliest buildings, it seems probable that the lodge and building at the rear (possibly an isolation ward) were also by him.

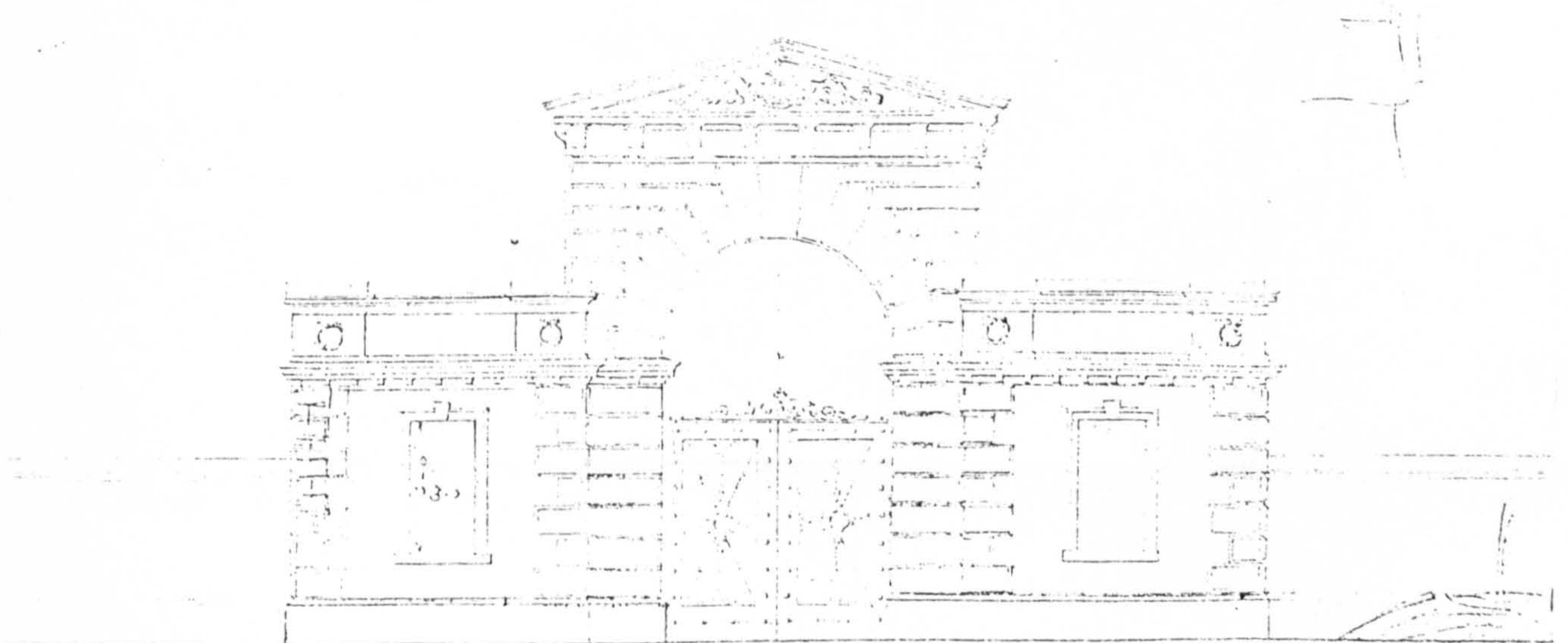
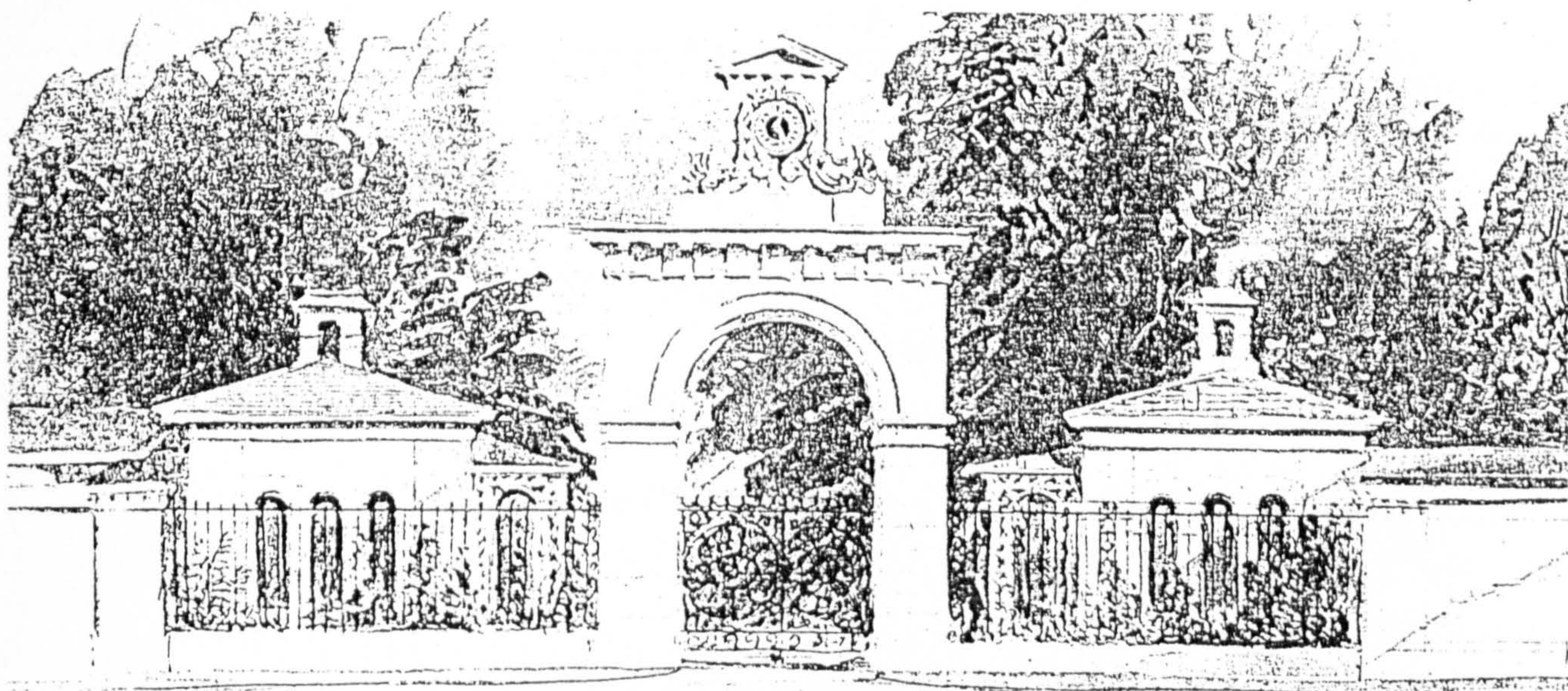
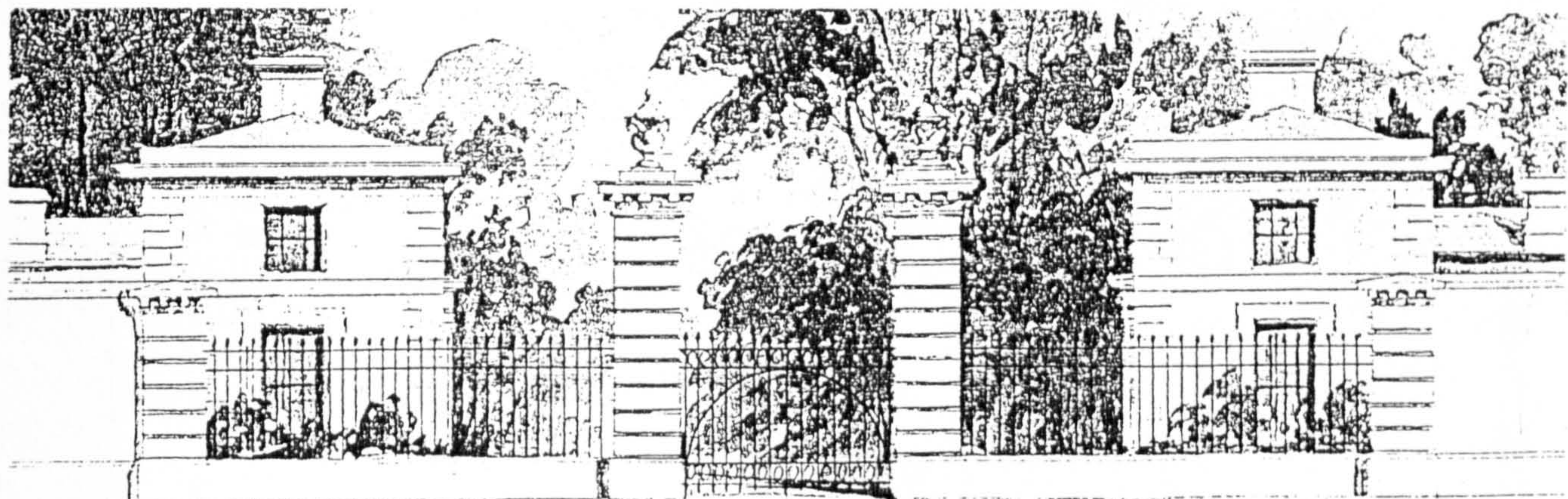
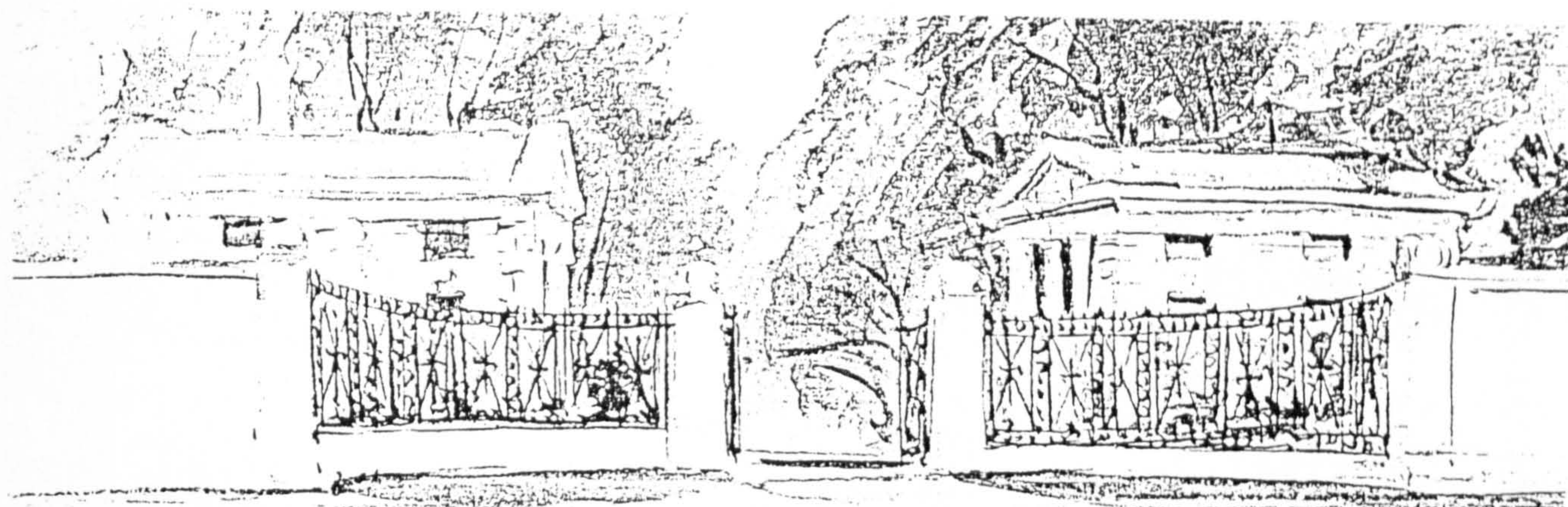


THE HULL INFIRMARY: ELEVATION IN 1784.





**Sewerby Hall:** Lockwood produced a variety of alternative designs for gatelodges which he submitted to his client. Particularly interesting are the matching temples facing each other across the gateway.





- xxiii The gatehouse as built (top) was a correct Doric triumphal arch flanked by single-storey lodges in the Italianate style.
- xxiv The clocktower attached to the stables (bottom) was more fanciful though the band of Greek key and openwork below the clock would be recurring elements in Lockwood and Mawson's buildings of the next thirty years.





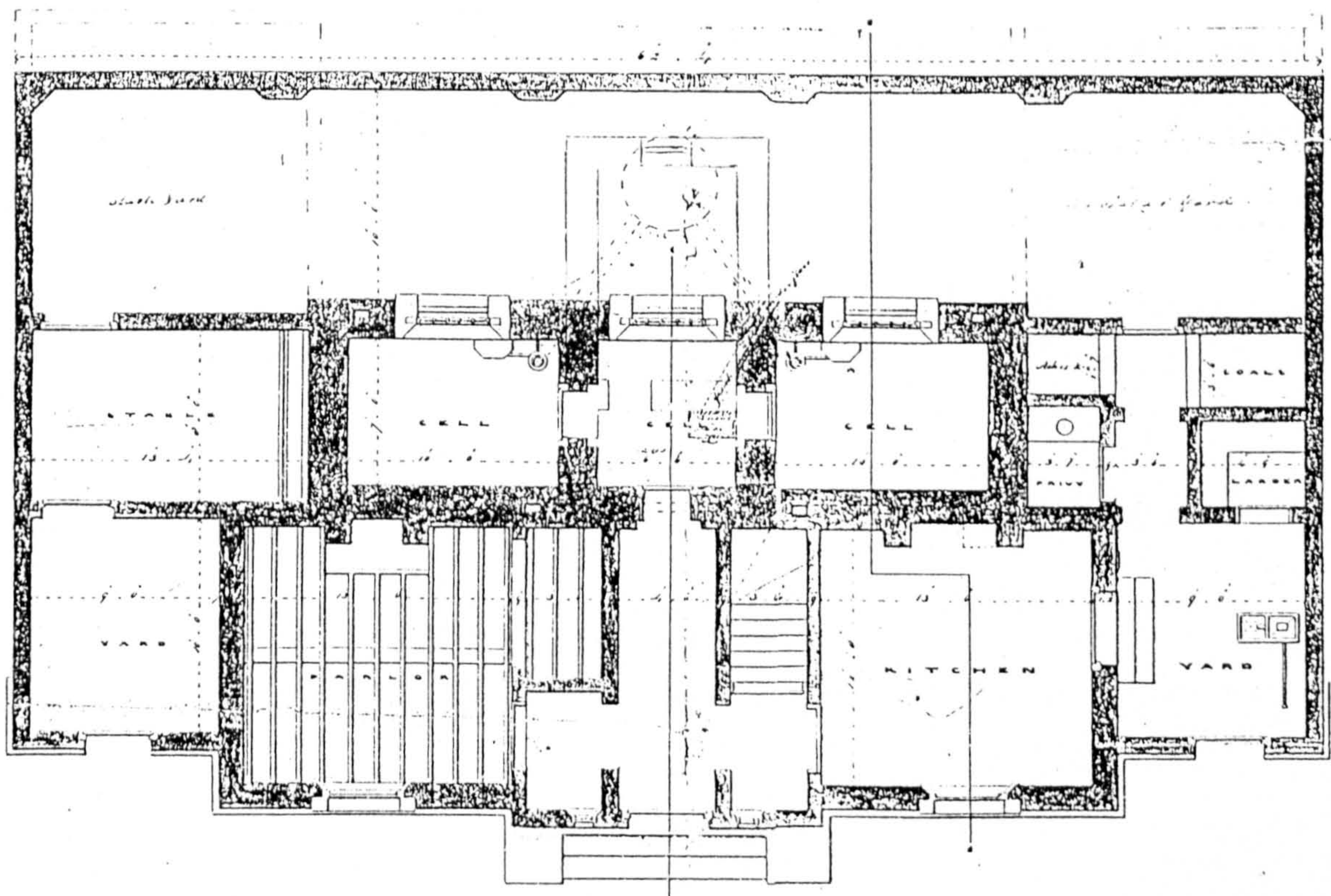
xxv **The Hull Institute** (top) was built in 1846 yet stylistically it looked back to the 1830s with its stripped-Classical detailing.

xxvi In contrast, the **Driffield Police House** (bottom), one of three virtually identical designs of 1843, was in a very gentle Italianate style with its overhanging eaves and arched door surround.



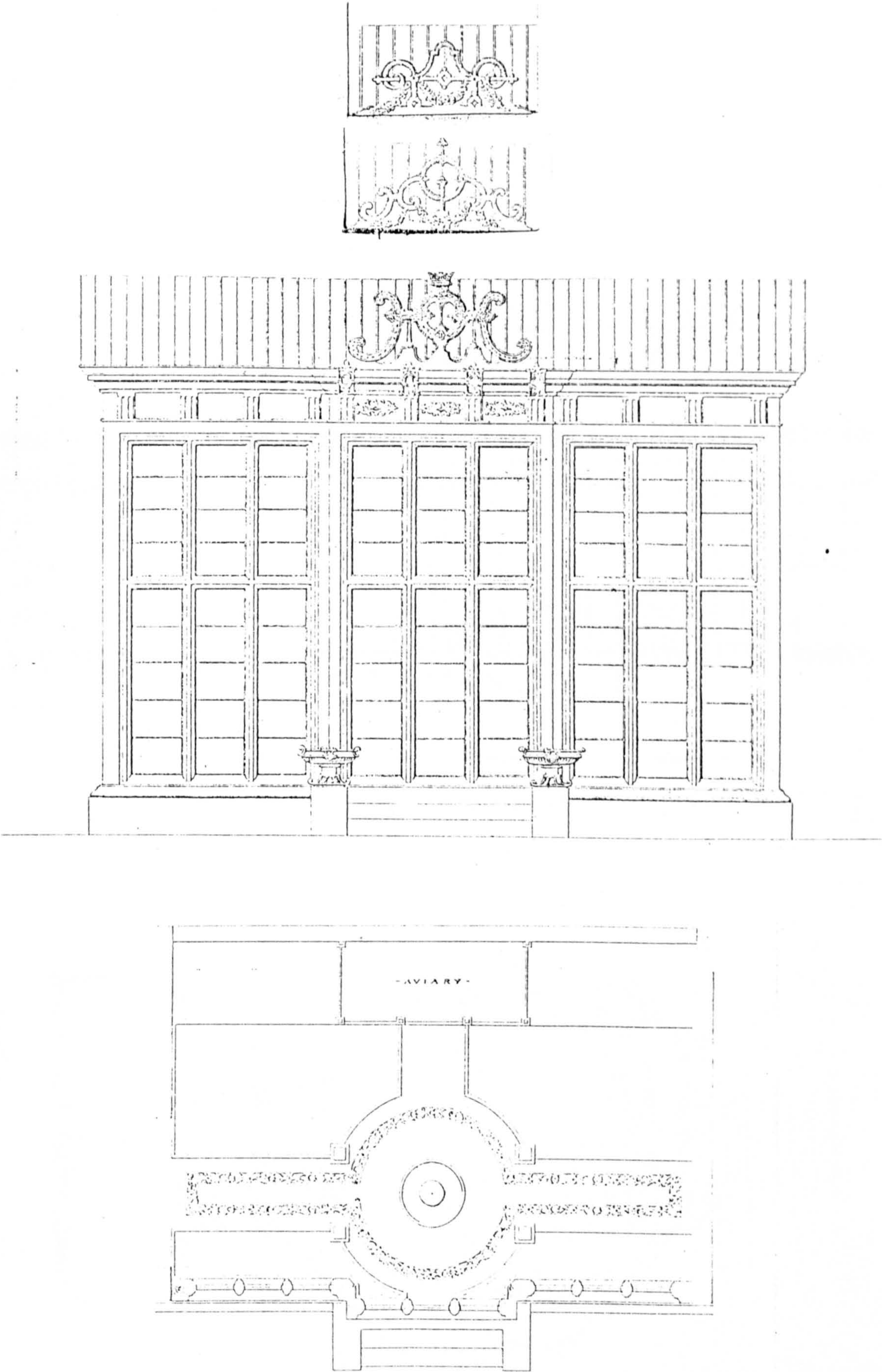


- xxvii    **The Howden Police House** was virtually identical to Lockwood's designs for similar buildings at Drifffield (Fig.xxvi) and Market Weighton (not illustrated). There were minor differences in detailing though all were extremely accomplished.
- xxviii    The plan demonstrates the convenience of the internal arrangements with an alternative layout producing a larger cell sketched on by the architect.



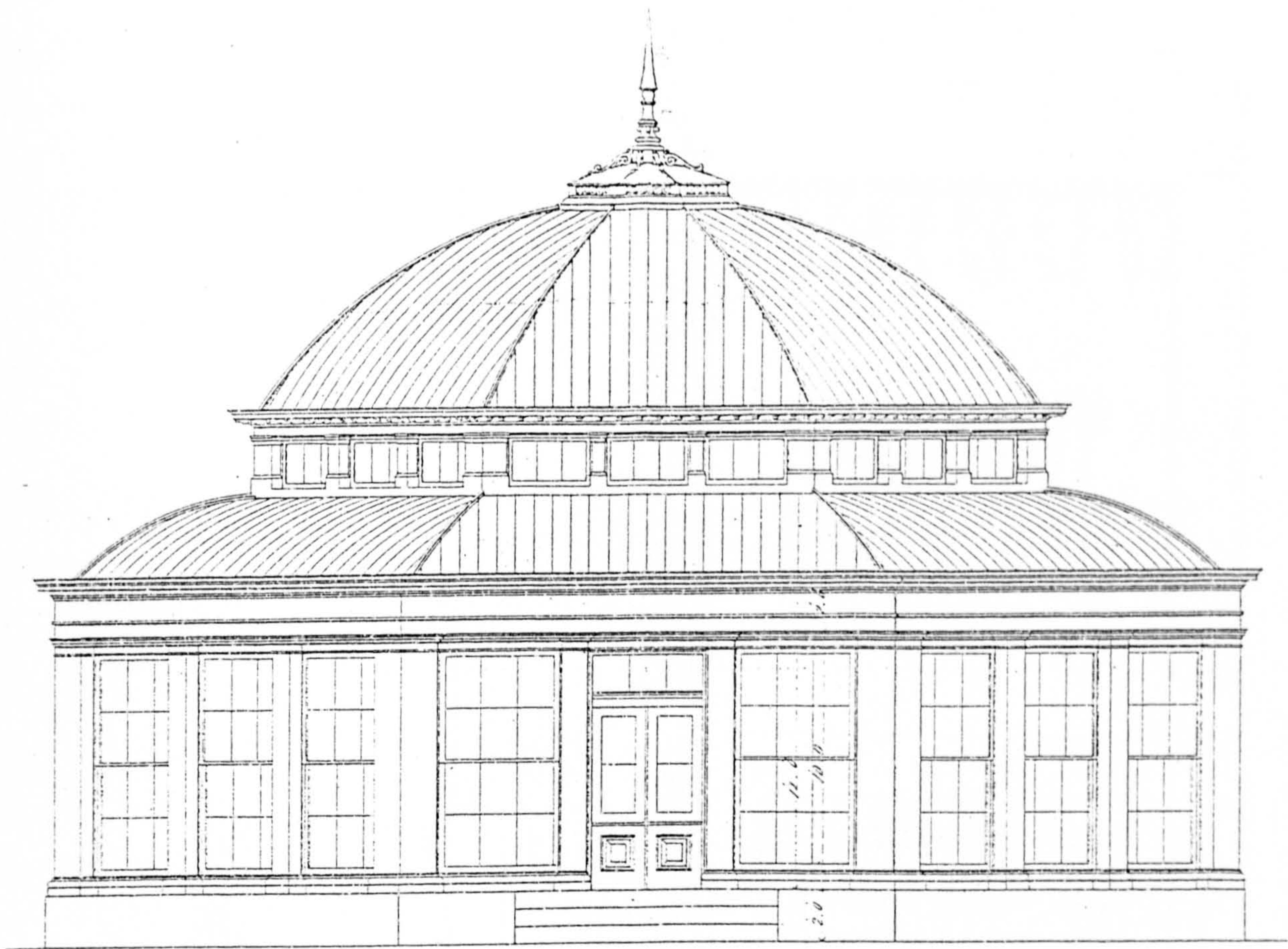


The small conservatory at **Burton Constable** was in a suitable Jacobethan style to match the house. The conservatory was attached to the boudoir of Lady Marianne Constable and contained a fountain and aviary.



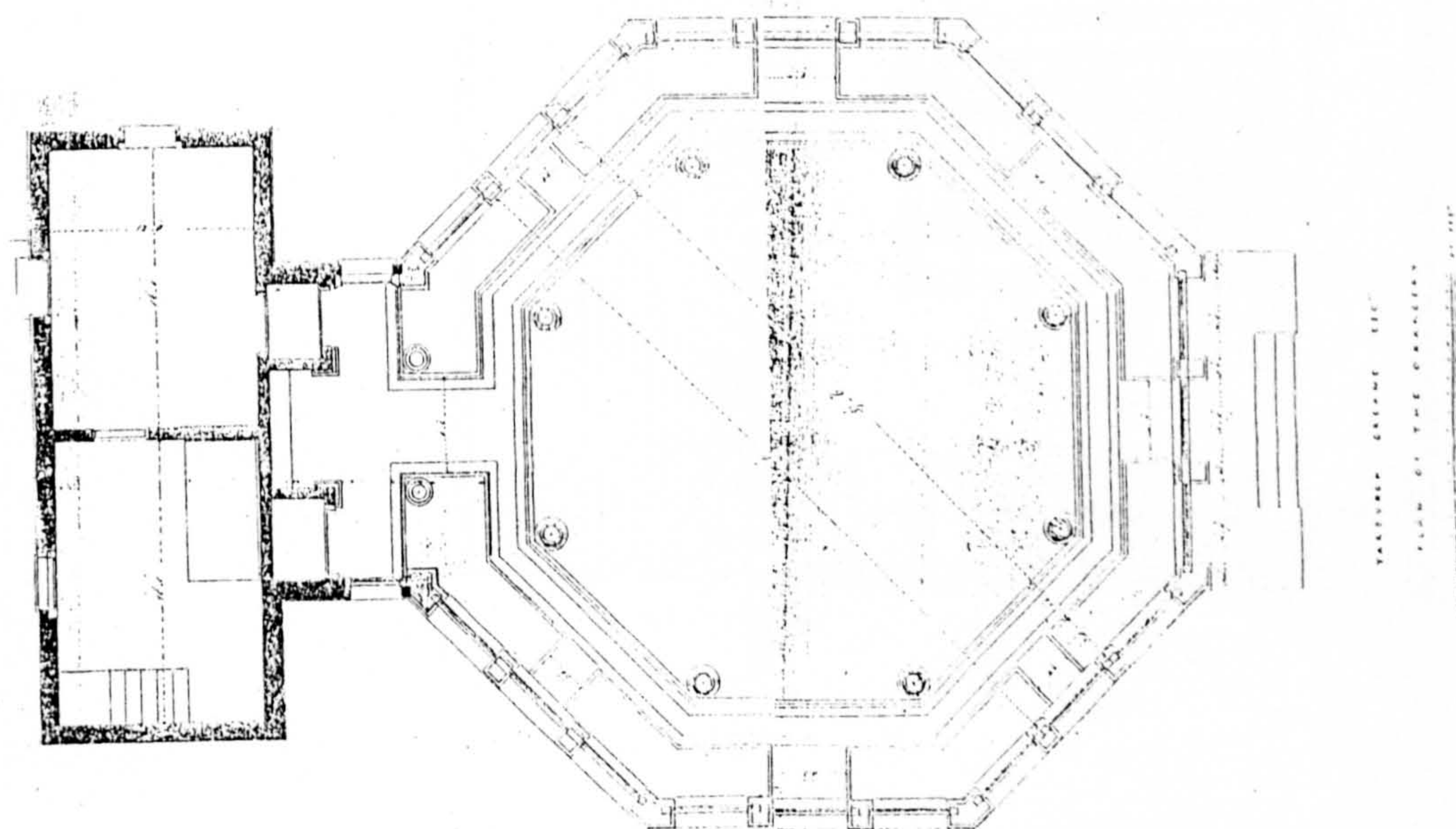


xxx The much larger conservatory at **Sewerby Hall** was much more ambitious and was closer in scale and form to the glasshouses which were appearing in public parks.



Scale of 1/4" = 1' 0"

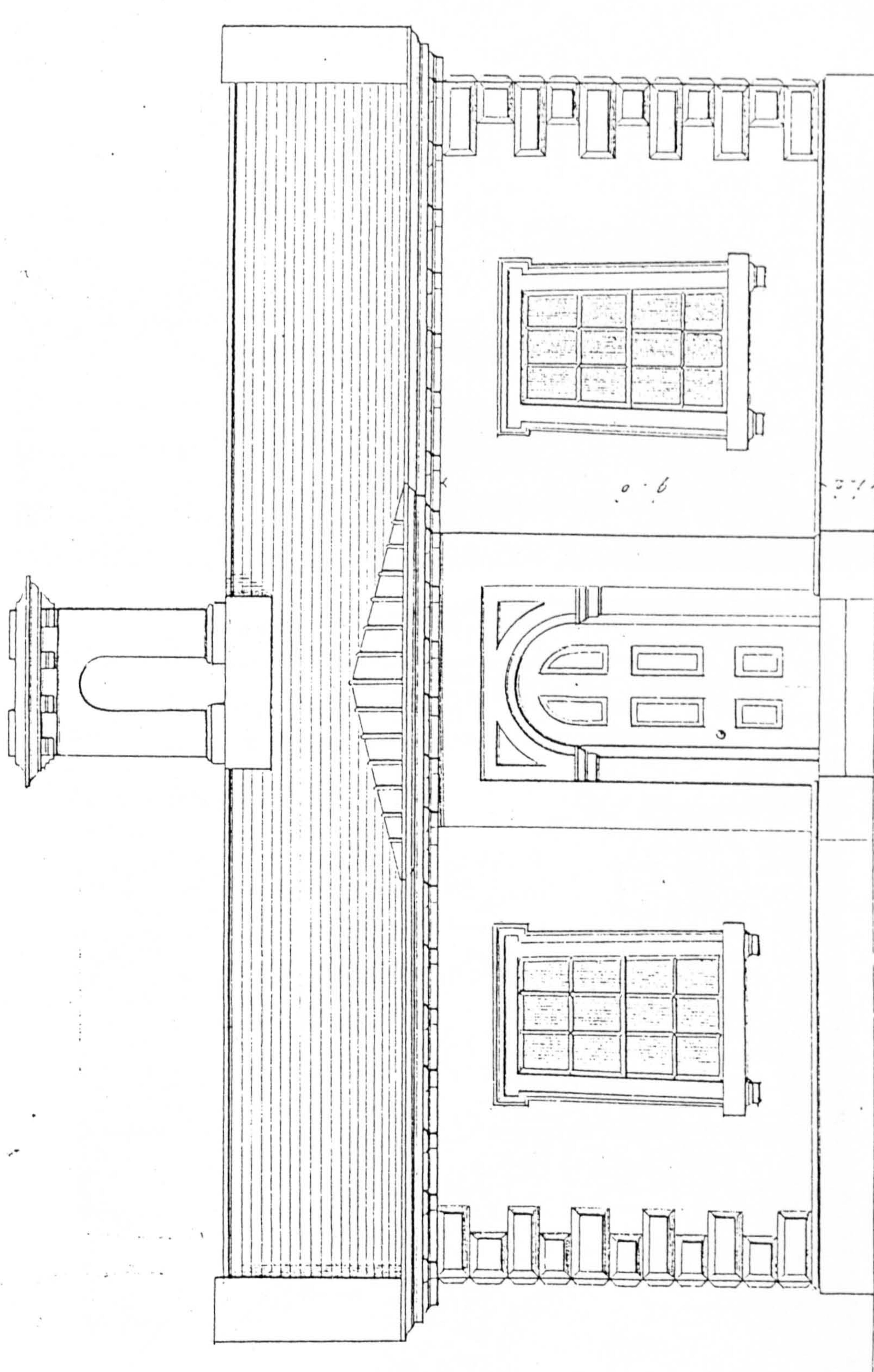
YARBURGH GREAME ESQ<sup>RE</sup>



YARBURGH GREAME ESQ<sup>RE</sup>  
PLAN OF THE CONSERVATORY



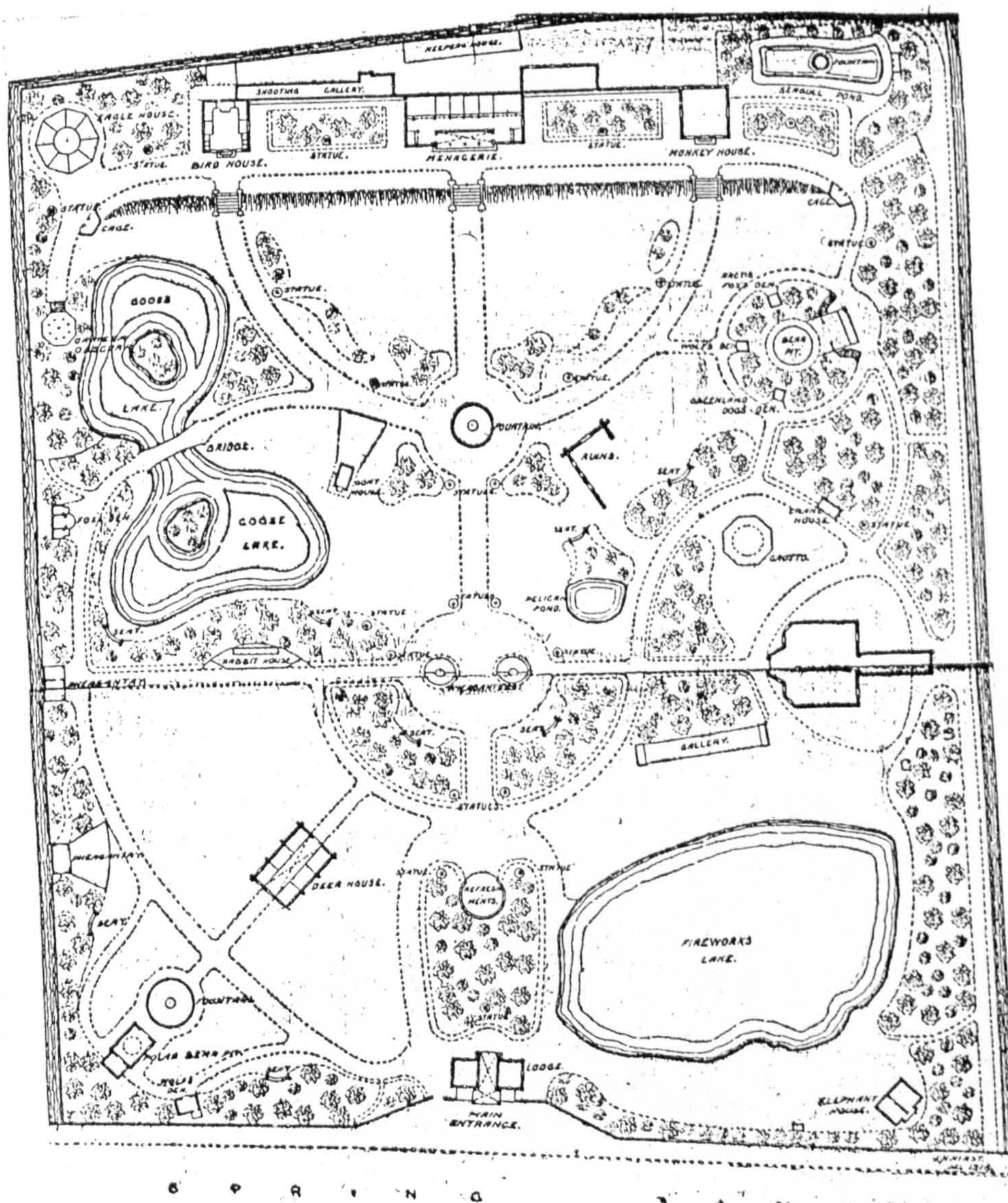
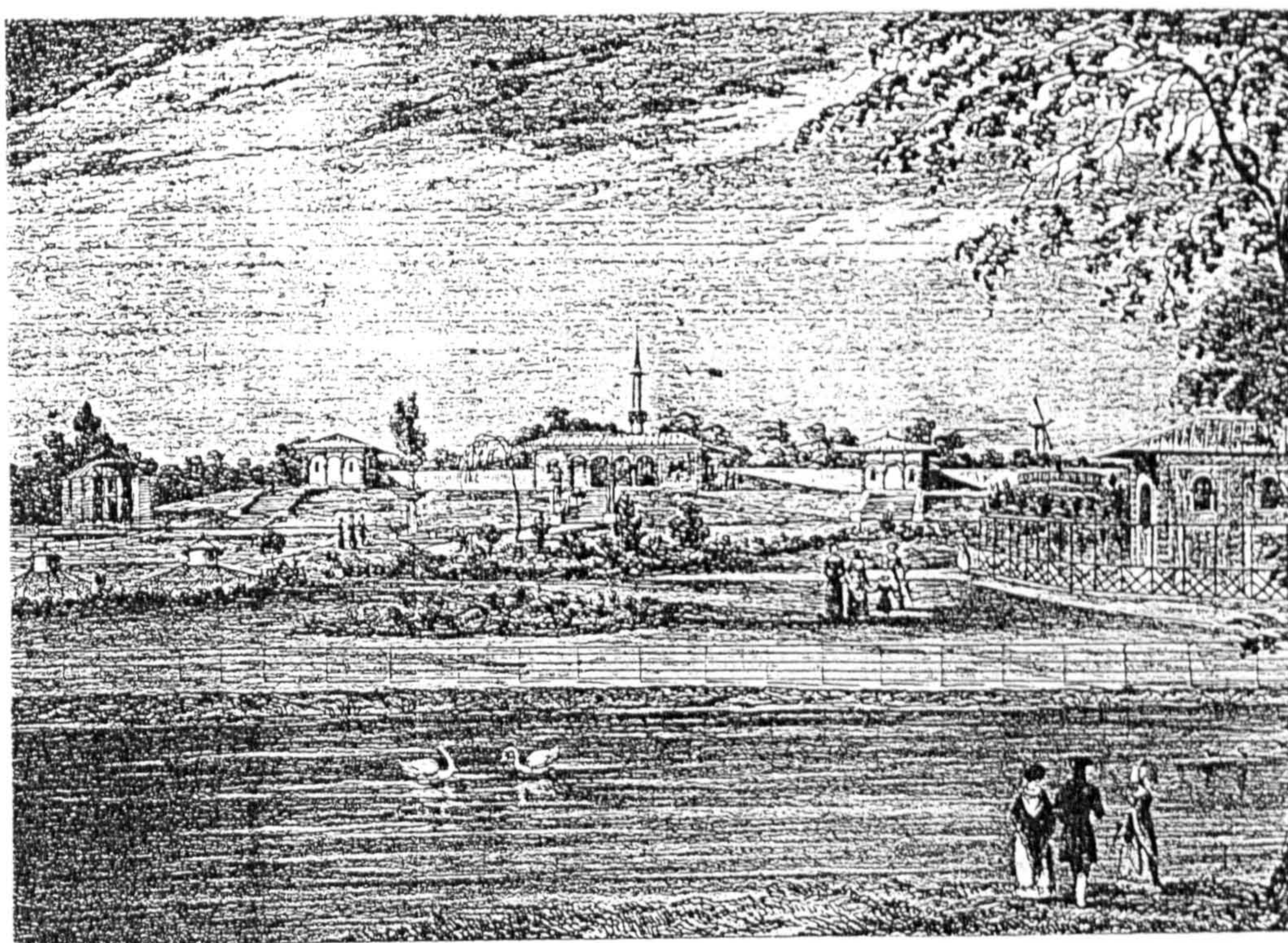
The plan for a cottage at **Sewerby Hall** showed the origin of features which would characterise the police houses and later the residential buildings at Saltaire. The 'Egyptianising' window surrounds probably reflect the influence of 'the exotic' popular earlier in the century.





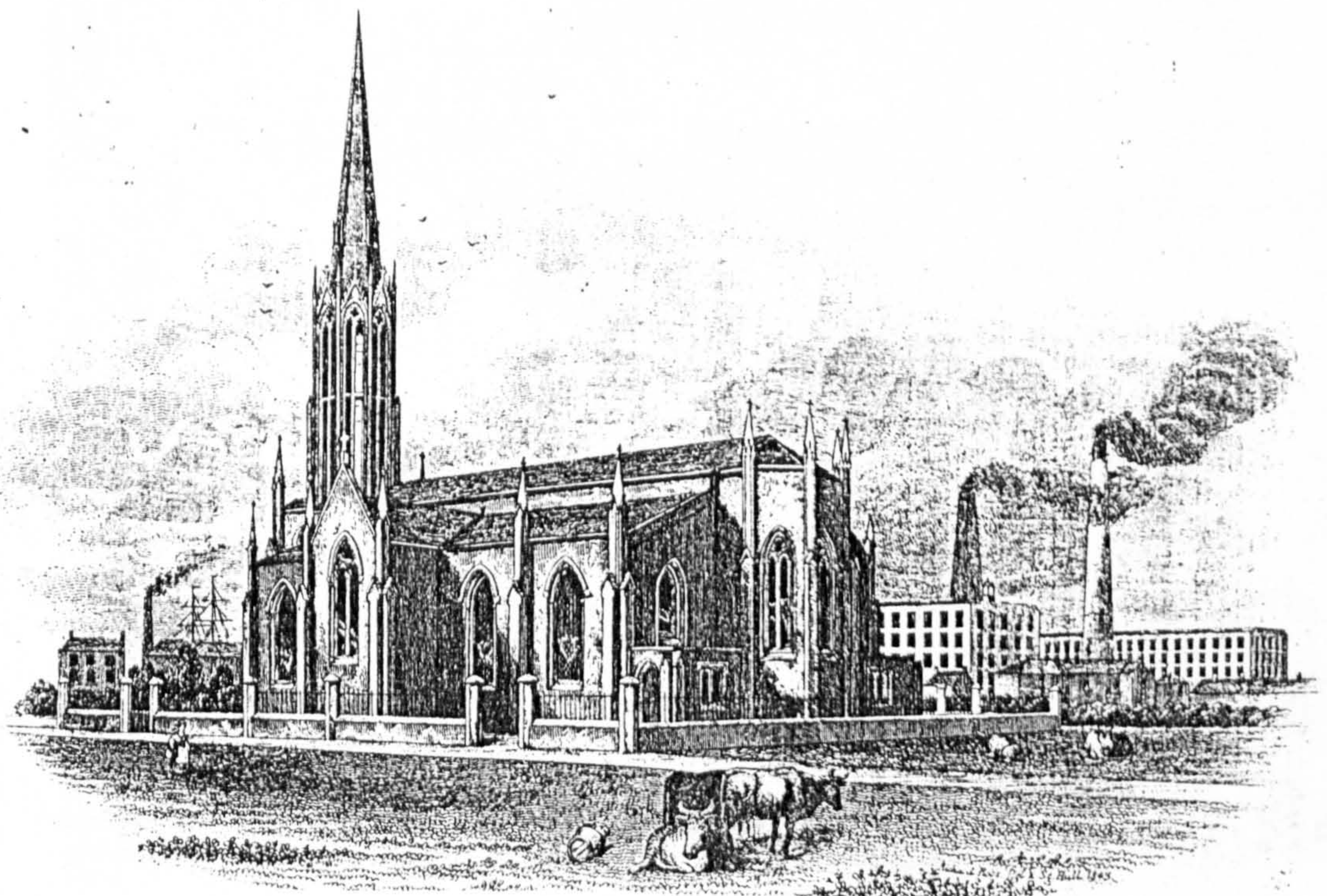
xxxii **The Hull Zoological Garden** was planned by Lockwood and showed his skills as a landscape architect as well as a designer of buildings.

xxxiii The requirements for a range of cages and buildings allowed Lockwood to exercise his imagination and taste for 'exotica' which undoubtedly developed during his work with P.F. Robinson.



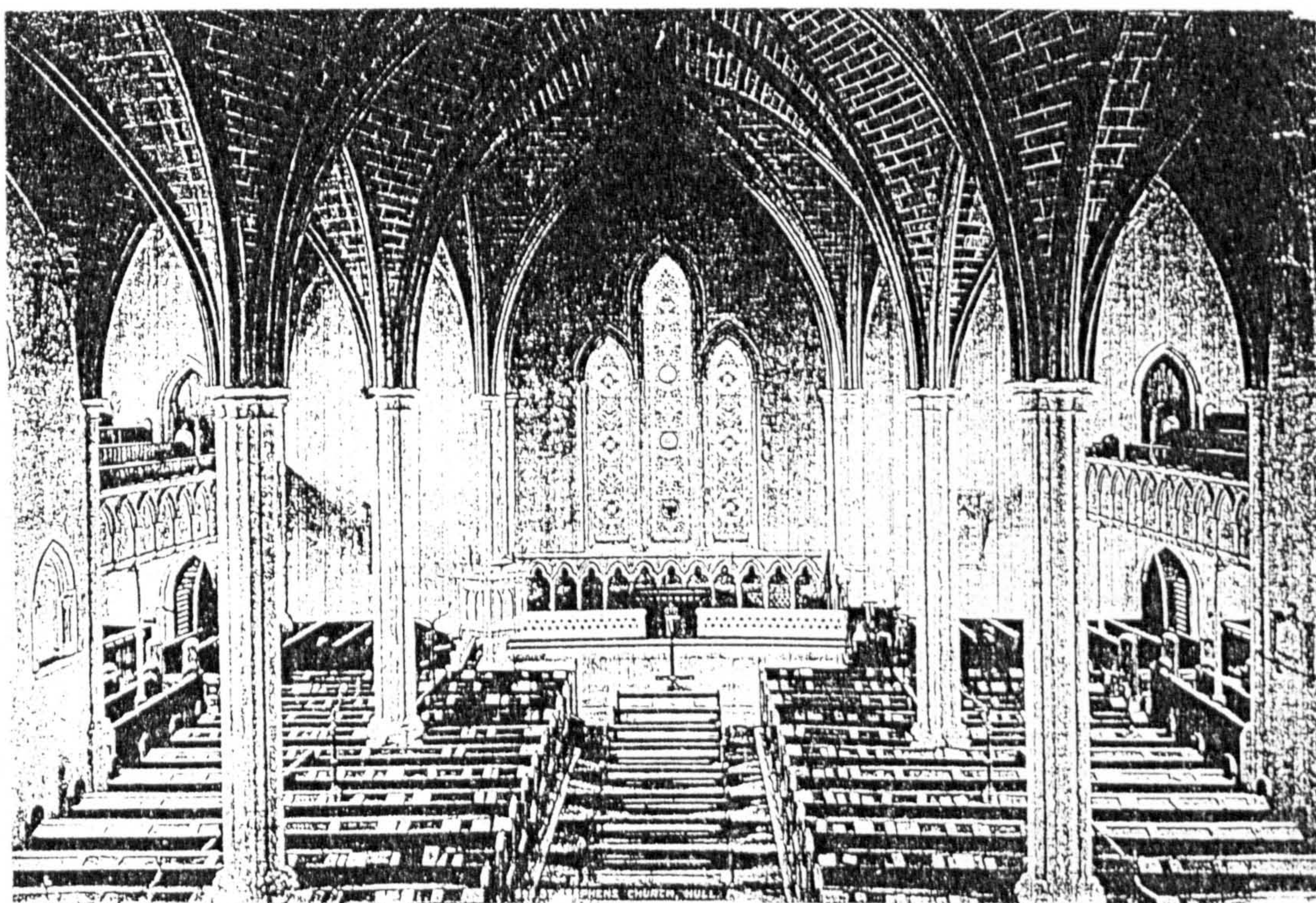


- xxxiv **The St John's Anglican Chapel** in Beverley (top) was a chapel-of-ease for the Minster. In plan it was a rectangle, similar to contemporary Nonconformist chapels. The Early English Gothic detailing, although applied symmetrically, was scholarly and in some cases modelled on features from the Minster.
- xxxv **St Mark's Church** in Hull was more lavish despite being constructed in a rapidly growing but poor area of the town. The huge pinnacles were typical of Lockwood's early designs, whilst the slender spire had an almost Perpendicular feel.



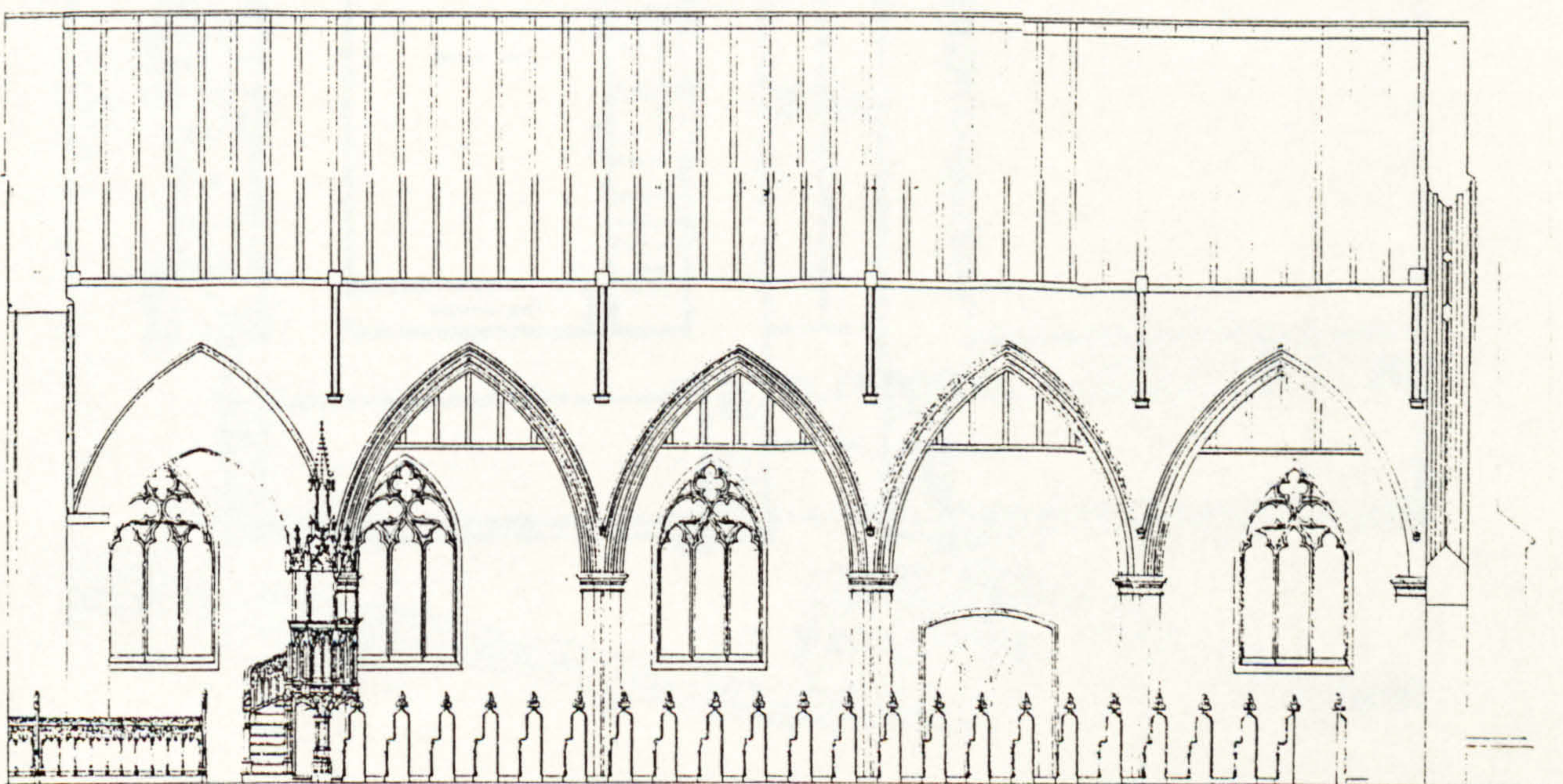


**St Stephen's Hull** was another Anglican church and one designed to make a considerable impact on the character of the town. Its form was reminiscent of the English parish church model favoured by the Ecclesiologists, though stylistically it was a little behind the times with Decorated Gothic being the up-to-date fashion amongst the Camdenians.





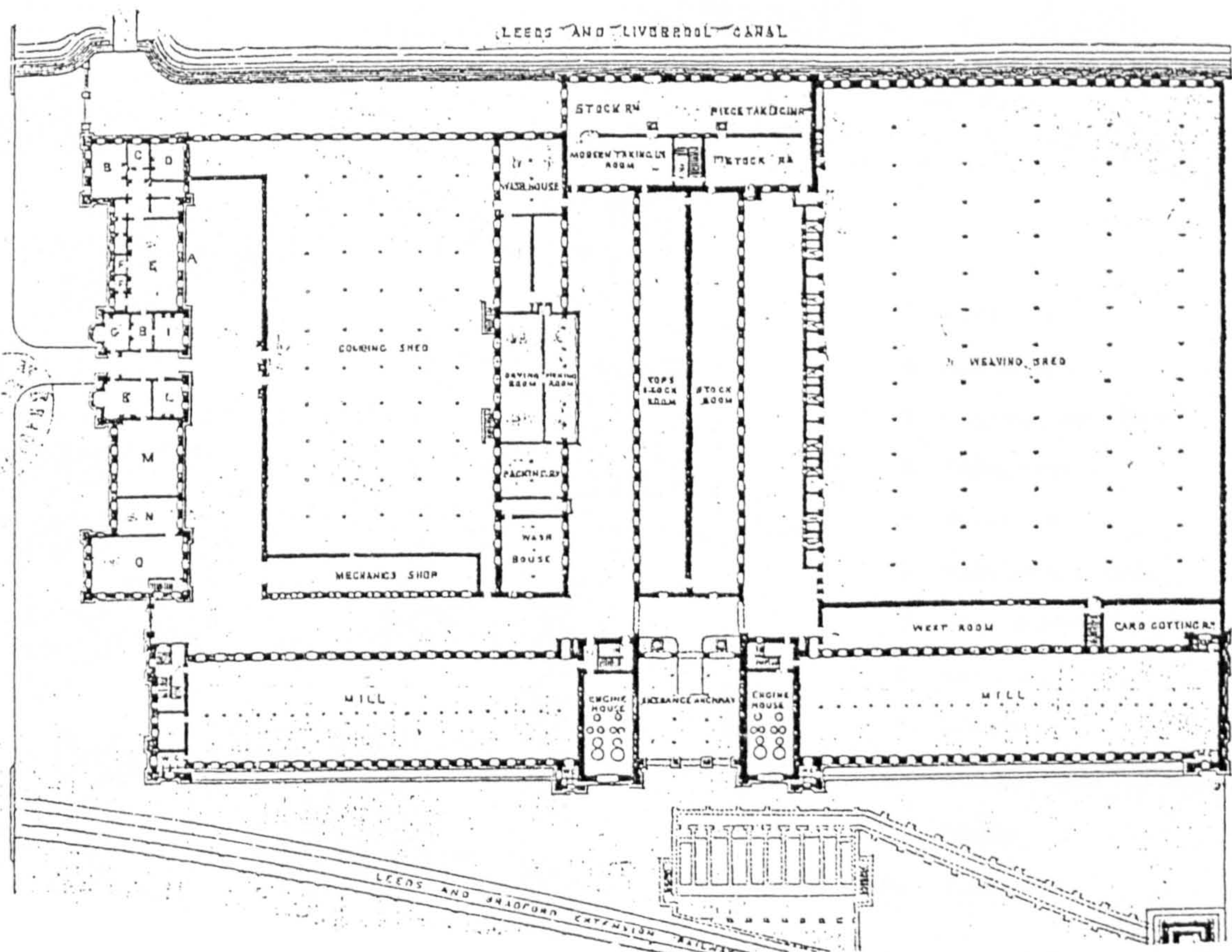
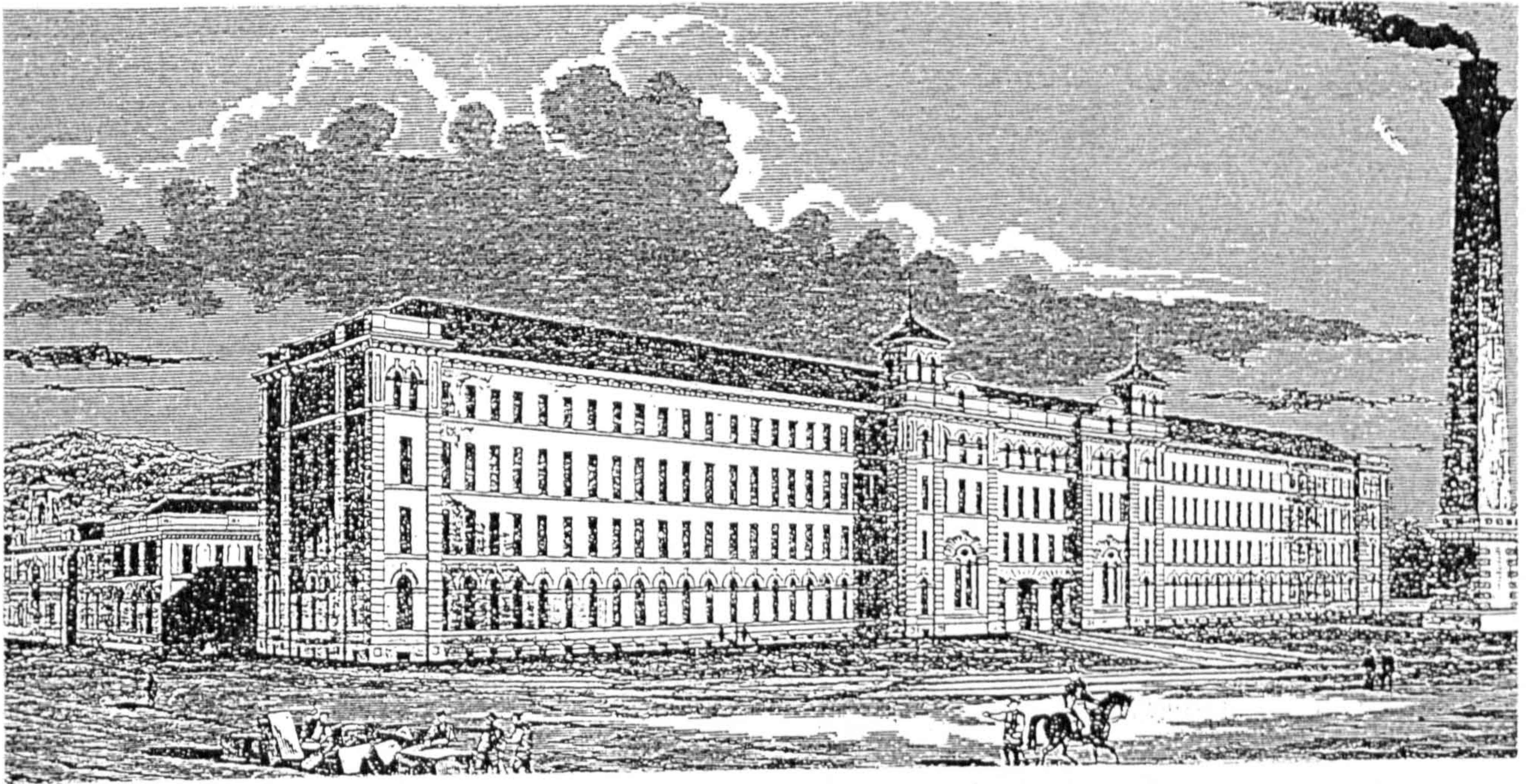
- xxxvii Lockwood's popularity with the Anglican church was evidenced by his being chosen to carry out a number of alterations and restorations at **the Holy Trinity Church in Hull**. As part of the work, Lockwood designed an exceptionally fine Gothic pulpit (top) which demonstrated his mastery of Gothic ornament.
- xxxviii Lockwood appears also to have been the architect of the restoration of **St Mary's Cottingham** (bottom), another Anglican church on the edge of Hull. His work included the removal of an internal gallery; a feature despised by the outspoken Anglican arbiters of taste.





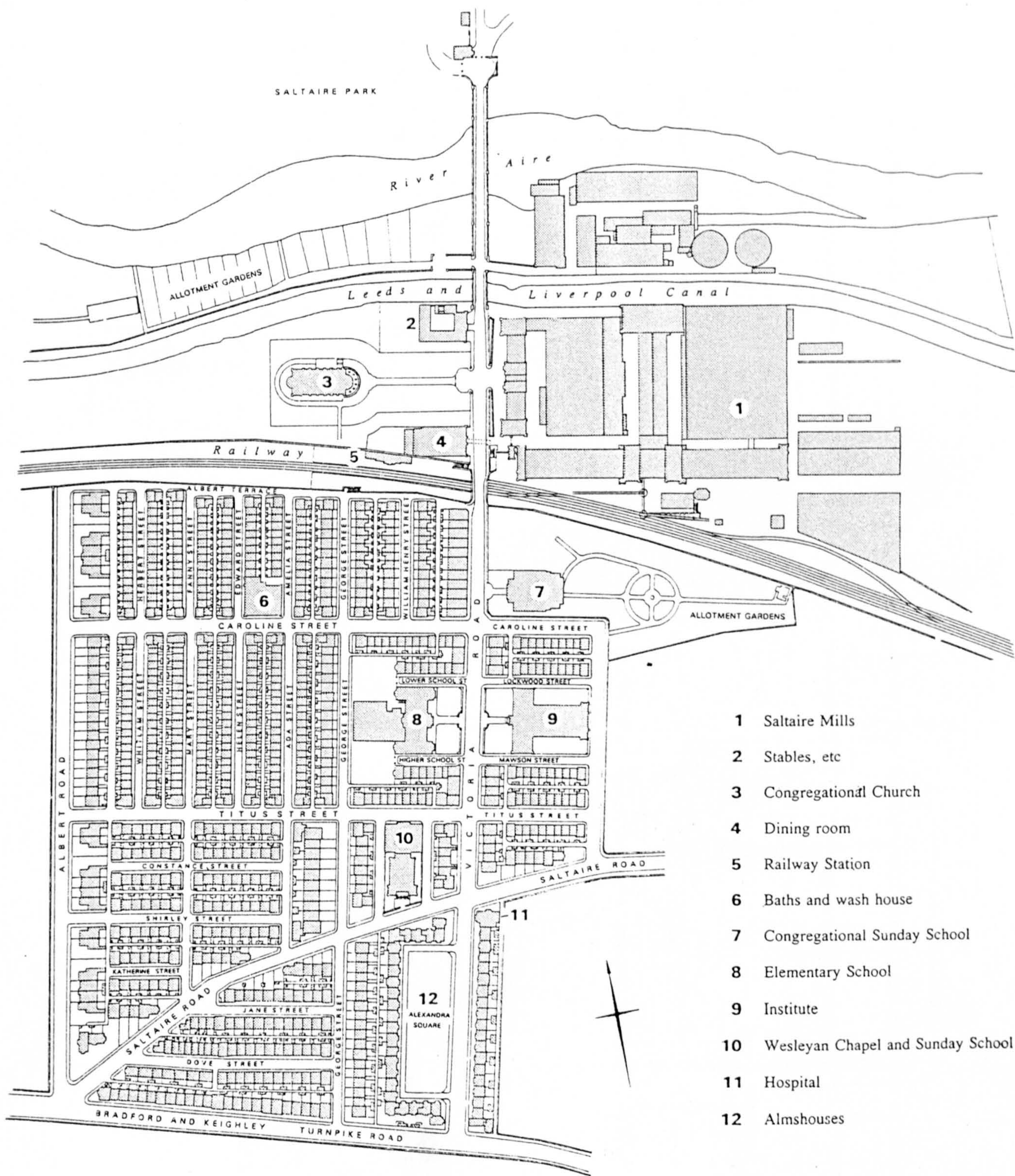
xxxix **Salt's Mill:** this huge concern was one of the biggest factories in the country and certainly the first in West Yorkshire to adopt Italianate features which would subsequently become the norm for textile buildings in the region.

xl The plan of the mill both paid homage to its owner through its 'T' shape and was ergonomically efficient. Note the decorative towers which housed the toilet facilities.





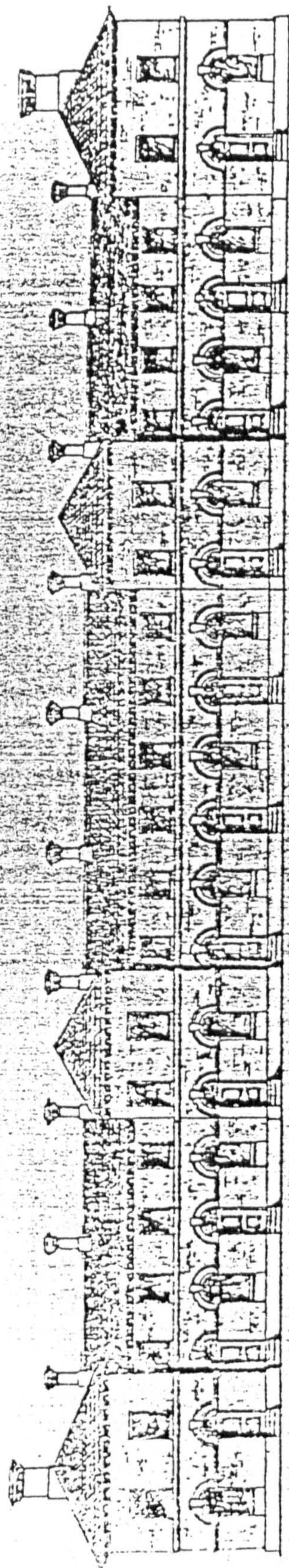
The plan of **Saltaire Village** shows the different phases of housing development, the separation of the mill from the housing and the positioning of key buildings in strategic places. The range of public buildings and facilities and the layout of the village demonstrate Lockwood and Mawson's skills as architects and town planners.



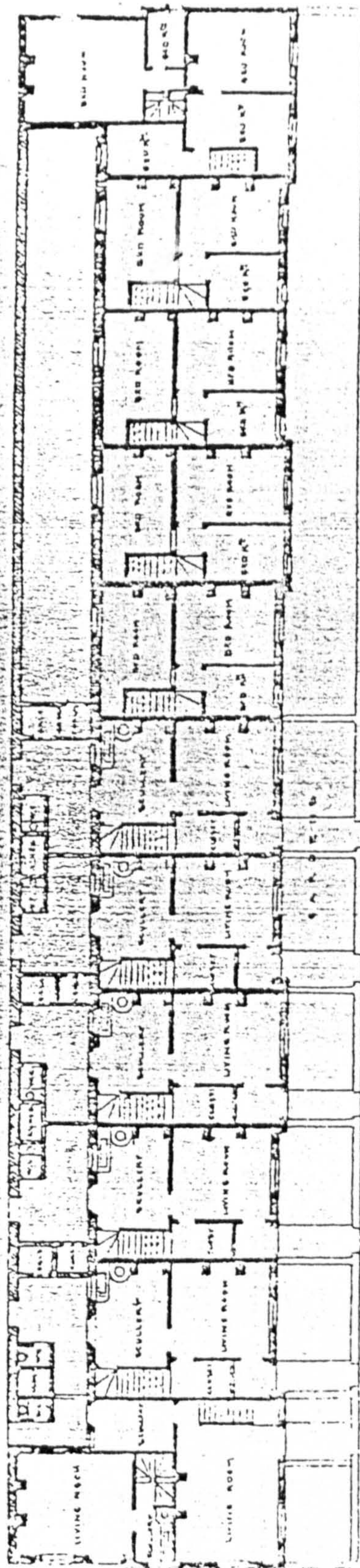


These house designs were originally for overlookers' accommodation and were therefore of a higher standard than the housing for workmen. In the later housing phases though, a third bedroom, scullery and architectural detailing was applied even to the lower grades of housing.

SALTAIRE WORKMENS COTTAGES



FRONT ELEVATION



HALF GROUND PLAN

HALF CHAIRMAN PLAN

SCALE OF FEET



**William Henry Street** (top) included overlookers' houses and three-storey lodging houses. This was part of the first phase of housing in Saltaire.

The houses for executives on **Albert Road** were large and well-appointed with Venetian Gothic detailing and fine view across open countryside. These were part of the final phase of housing.





**The Saltaire Congregational Church** was probably the firm's finest Classical design. The building was a unique composition although several of the component parts were common to many of their other buildings. It ranks as one of the finest Nonconformist churches of the century.





xliv

**The school** (top) was widely regarded as a model of its type. Architecturally it was in the Italianate style of the rest of the village with Venetian *cinquecento* detailing. The carved central pediment and bell-tower were flanked by loggias where children could shelter.

xlvi

**The almshouses** (bottom) also included Venetian detailing though this time an exceptionally well-detailed Gothic variety. The roof shapes and massing, like much of the other housing in the village, bear comparison with the police houses of Lockwood's solo career.



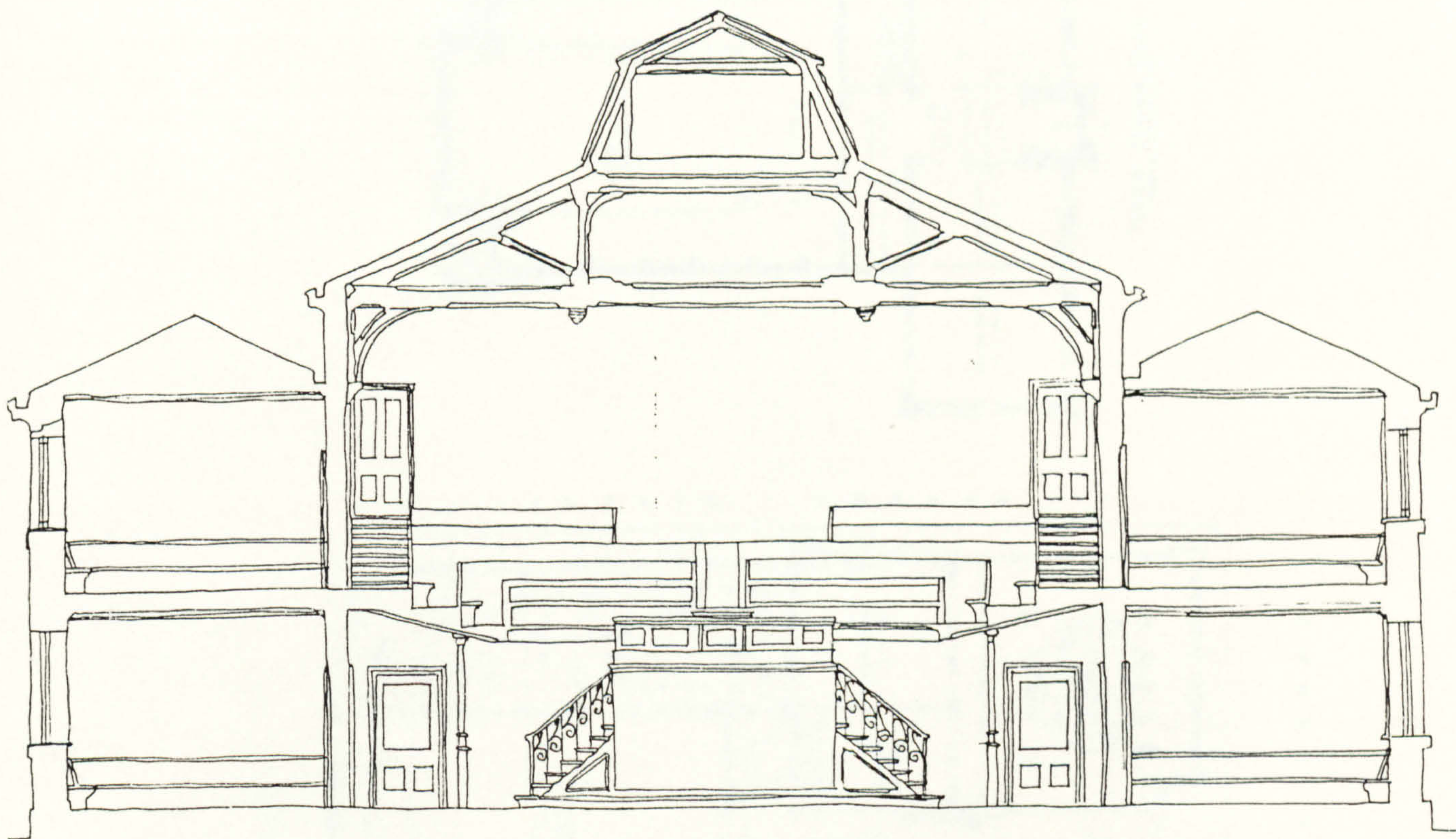


- xlvi **The New Mill** (top) occupied the land between the river and canal and provided an enlarged gas works, a dyeworks and increased the spinning capacity of the complex. The chimney, modelled on the *campanile* of the Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa in Venice, was designed as an eye-catcher from views down Saltaire's main road and across the park.
- xlvi **The park** provided a range of facilities and amusements for the villagers. Although William Gay was the landscape architect, Lockwood and Mawson designed the buildings including this tea-room (bottom) which had a viewing platform/bandstand above. The statue is of Titus Salt.



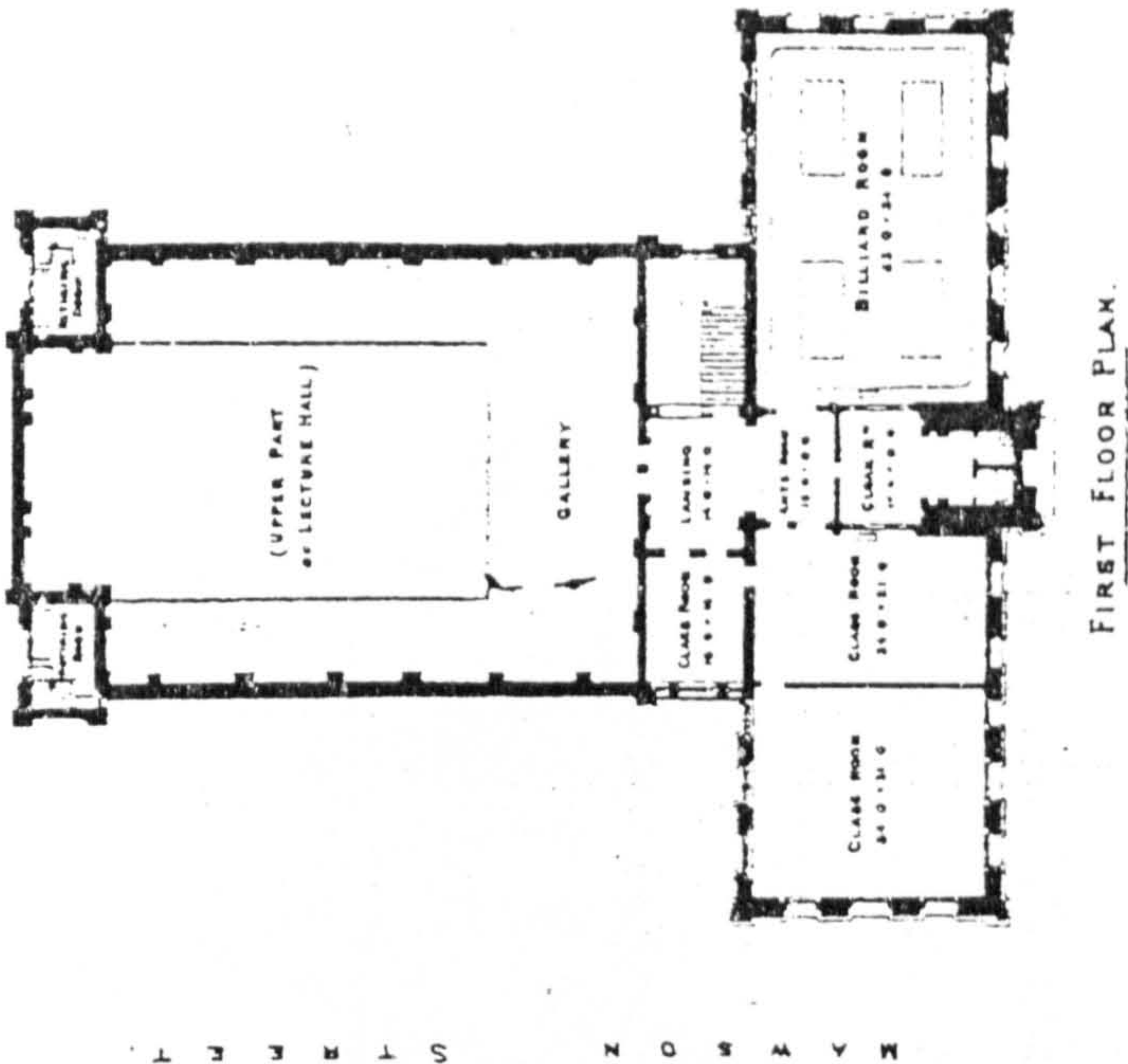
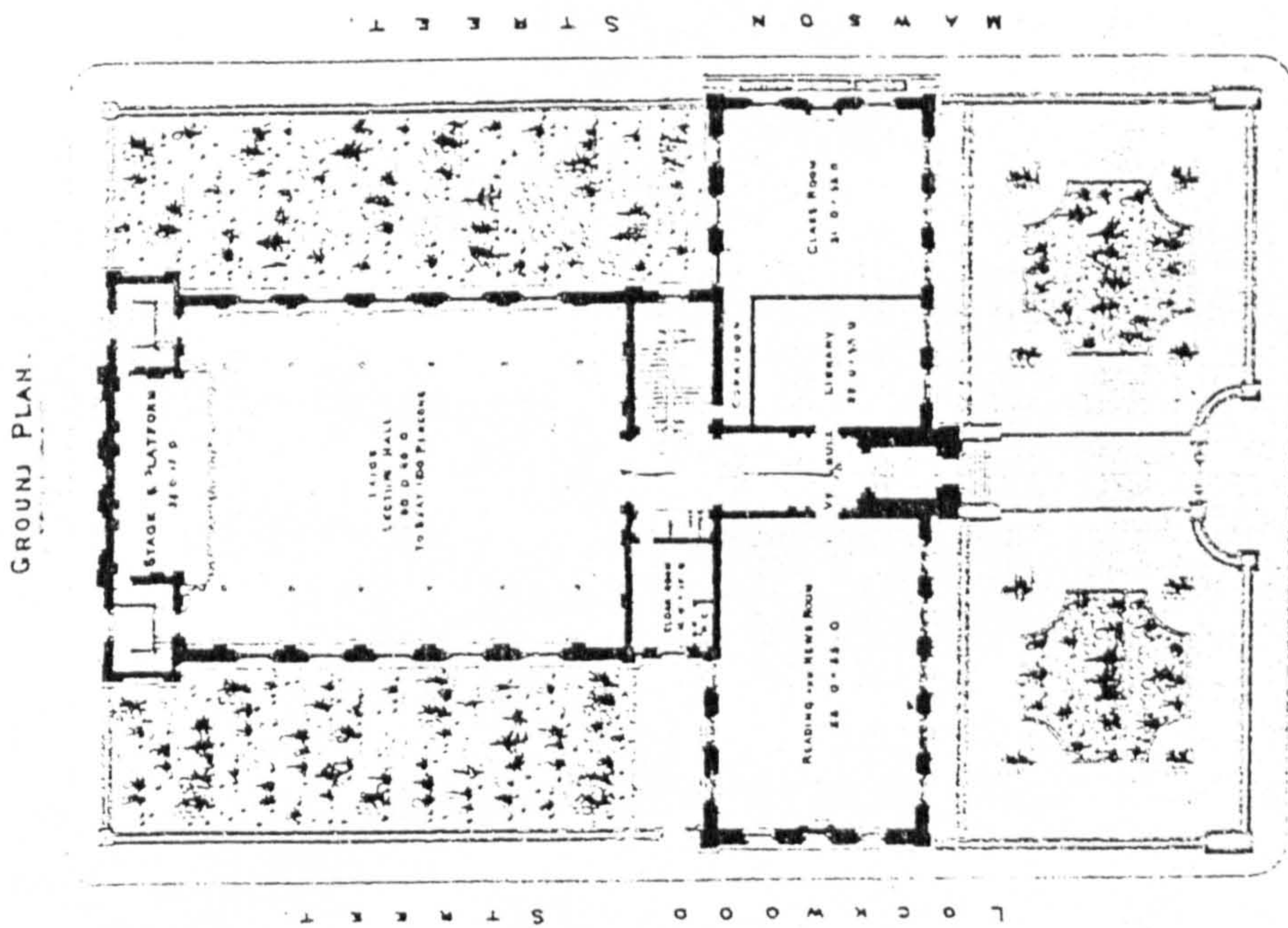
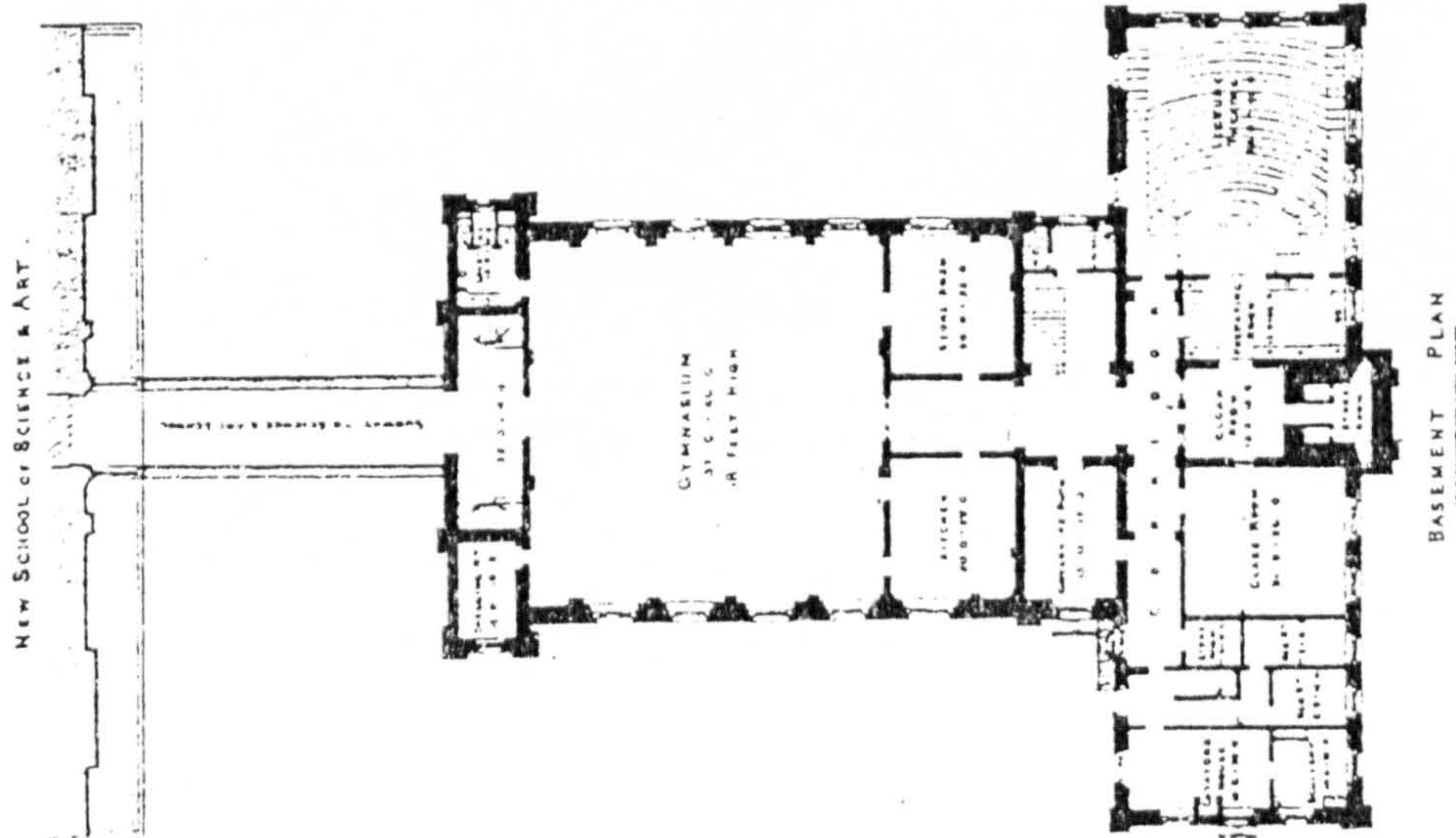


- il The transverse section of the **Saltaire Congregational Sunday Schools** (top) shows how the lantern rooflight was used to light the main auditorium and so allowed classrooms to enclose the sides of the room.
- l The **'Palace of Delights'** was an exhibition of 'scientific, educational, industrial and social appliances' held to mark the tenth anniversary of Salt's death. The remaining building (bottom), although with some Italianate features to match the rest of the village, was very much in the 'free-style' used for the later Board Schools in Bradford.





The plans of the **Saltaire Institute** demonstrate the unrivalled facilities which Salt provided to keep his workers entertained and fulfilled without recourse to the beer-shop. Although the building was again 'T' shaped, it was conveniently arranged internally.



VICTORIA ROAD



**The Saltaire Institute** provided facilities for adult education which were unrivalled even in the northern mechanics' institutes. Architecturally the building was in an exceptionally free Italian style with the customary French influences. The carving of the figures of Art and Science above the door were by Thomas Milnes.





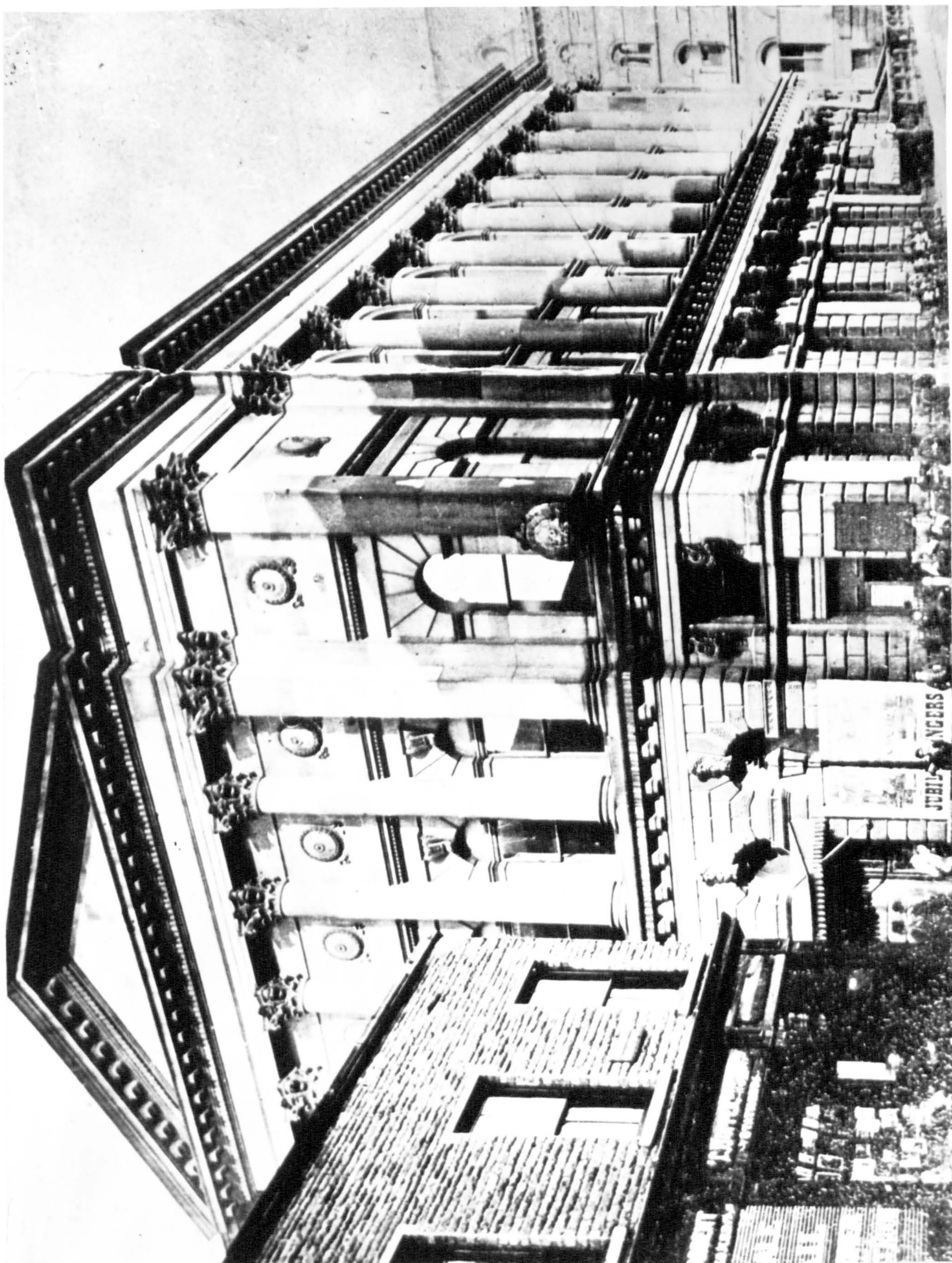
liii     **The White Swan Hotel** (top) was part of the redevelopment of the Northgate area of Halifax for John Crossley and was a lavish Italianate *palazzo*.

liv     **The Mechanics' Institute** (bottom) was part of the same scheme and had similarities with the Bradford St George's Hall with its Giant Order of attached columns standing on a rusticated base.



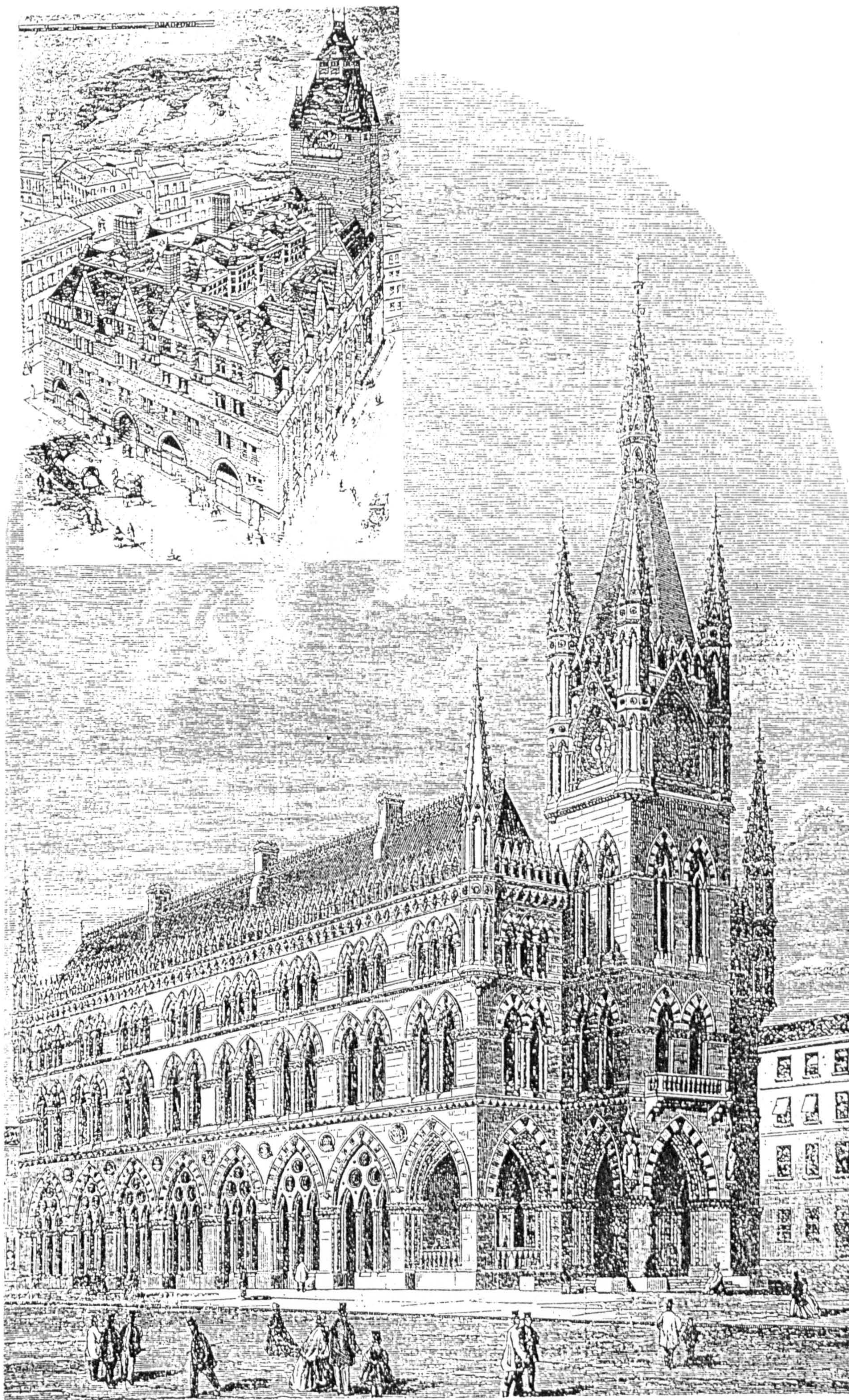


**The St George's Hall** was built to provide entertainments for the Bradford public without the temptation of alcohol. Architecturally the impact this huge municipal 'temple' made can be judged by the scale of the building opposite which it dwarfed.



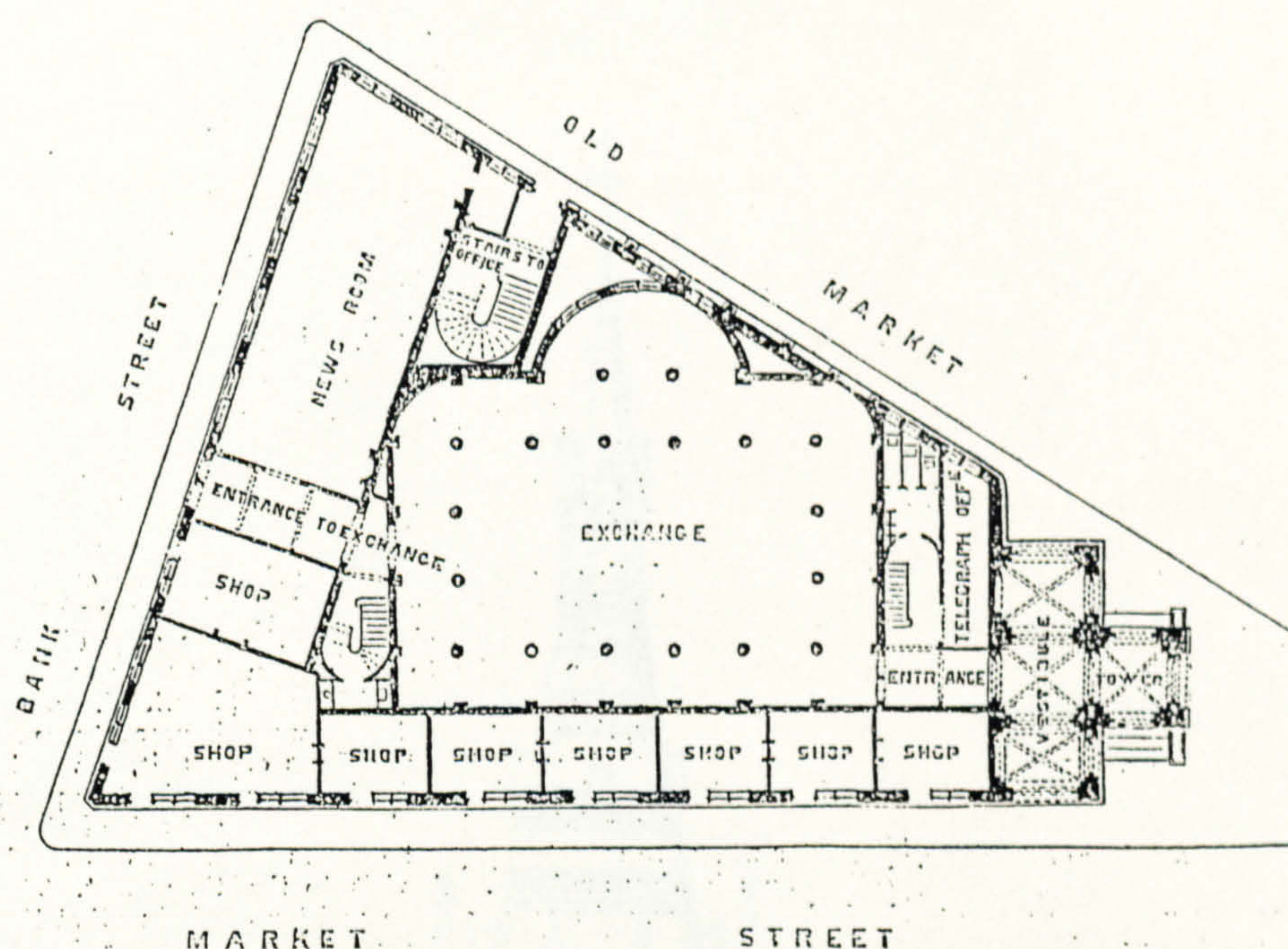


The Bradford Wool Exchange combined the Venetian Gothic admired by John Ruskin and his followers with the outline of a Flemish Cloth hall. Inset is Shaw's 'deliberately ugly' design which found favour with neither the committee members nor the public.



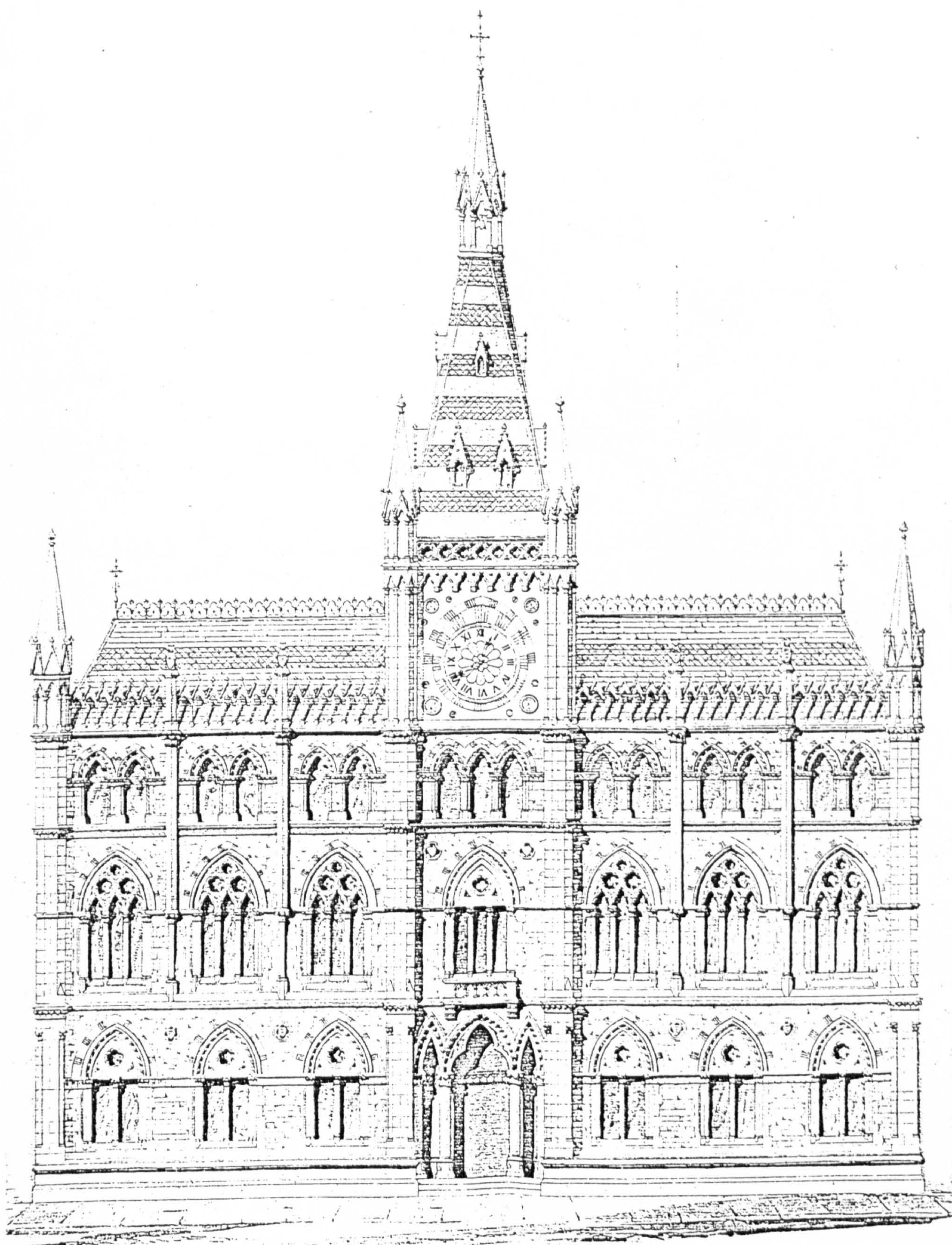


- lvii The plan of the **Wool Exchange** shows the architects' skill in designing a functional building despite the awkward shape of the site.
- lviii The trading hall was lit from above and had a fine hammer-beam roof. The photograph was taken during the conversion of the building to a bookshop in 1997.

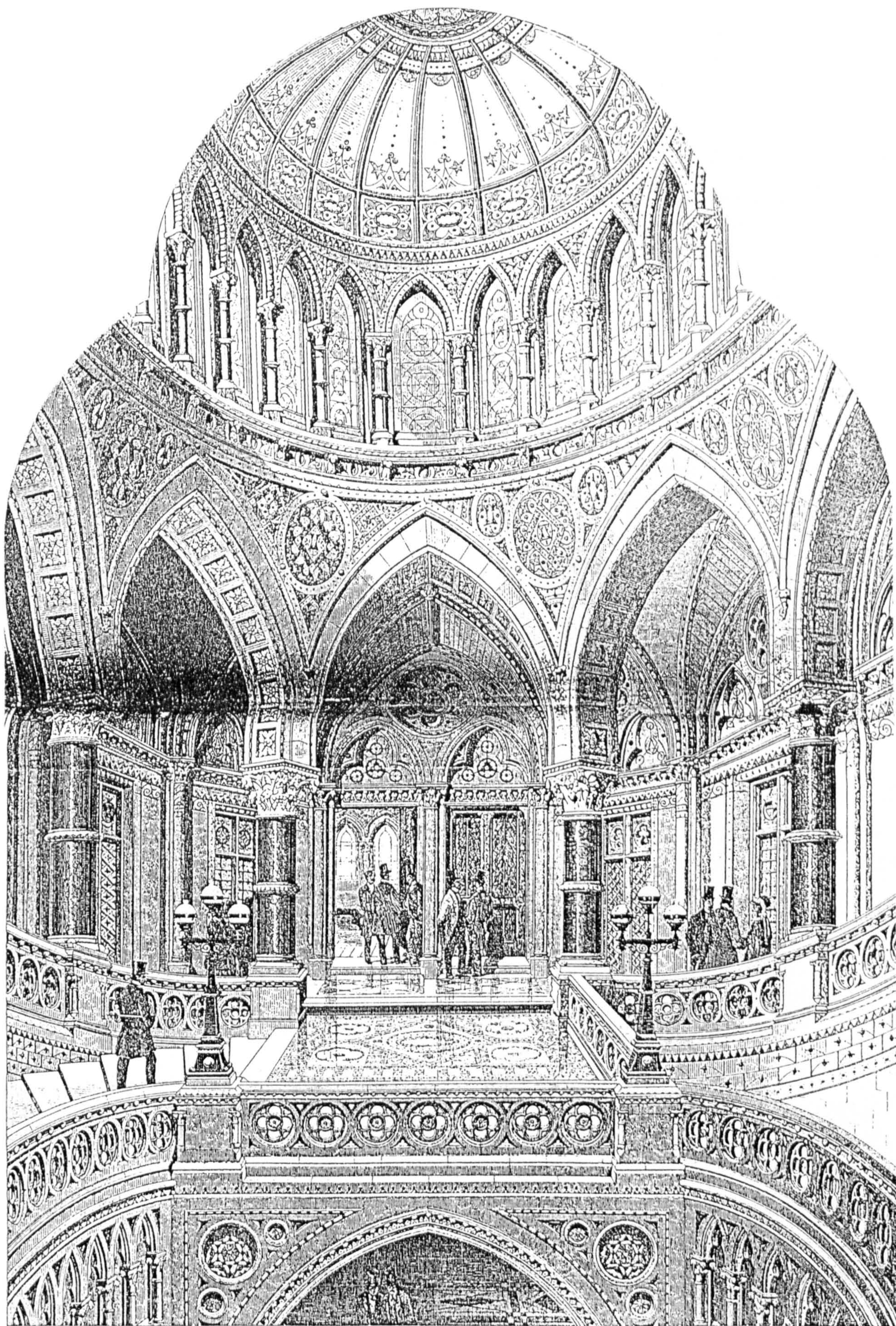




**Hull Town Hall:** the alternative design submitted in this competition was remarkably similar to the successful Bradford Wool Exchange design. The windows and clocktower were particularly similar yet the Hull design predates its Bradford counterpart by three years.

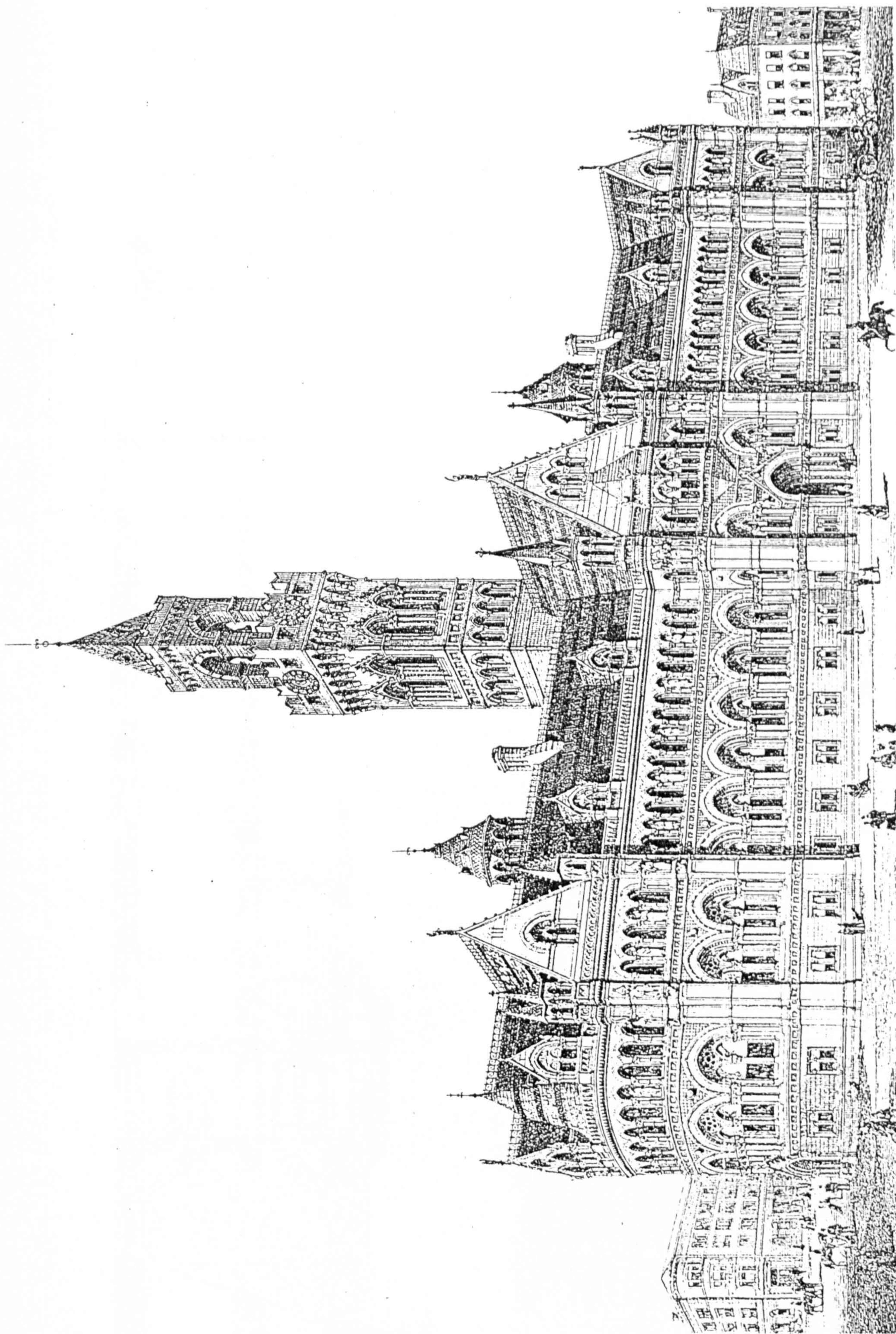






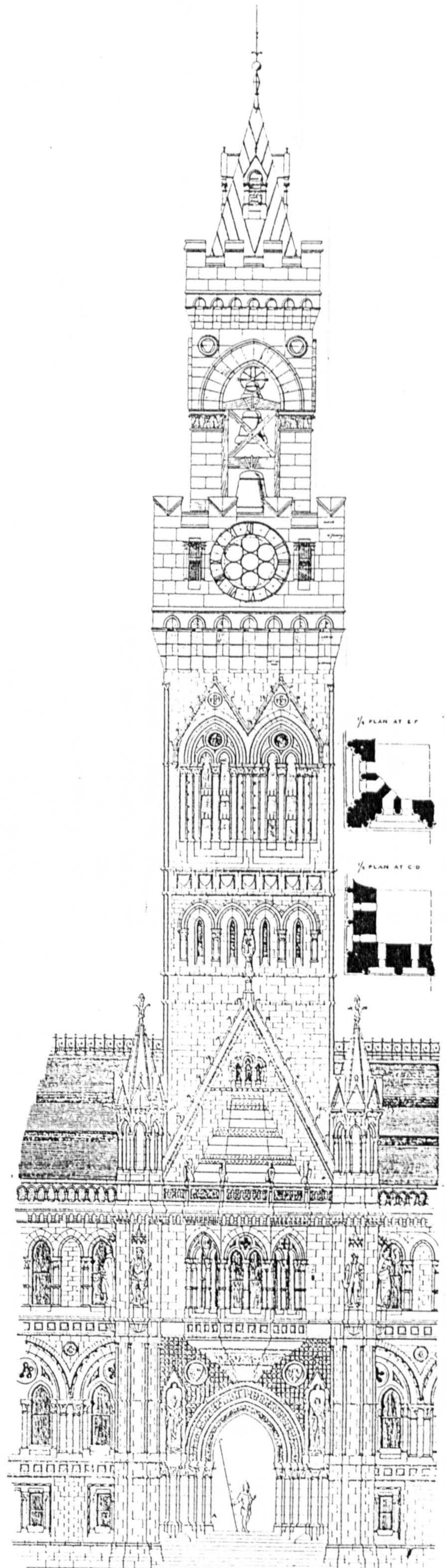
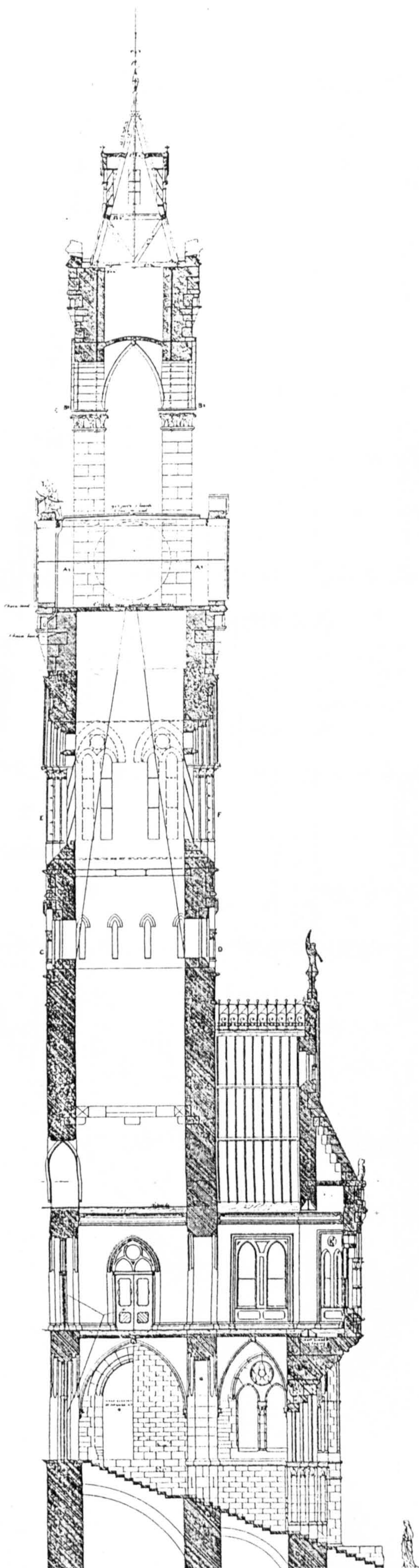


**Bradford Town Hall:** the Italianate Gothic of the wool exchange had been augmented by French Gothic forms in the winning design for the town hall competition. As built, the clocktower was moved closer to the front elevation, and the curved endpiece was faceted.



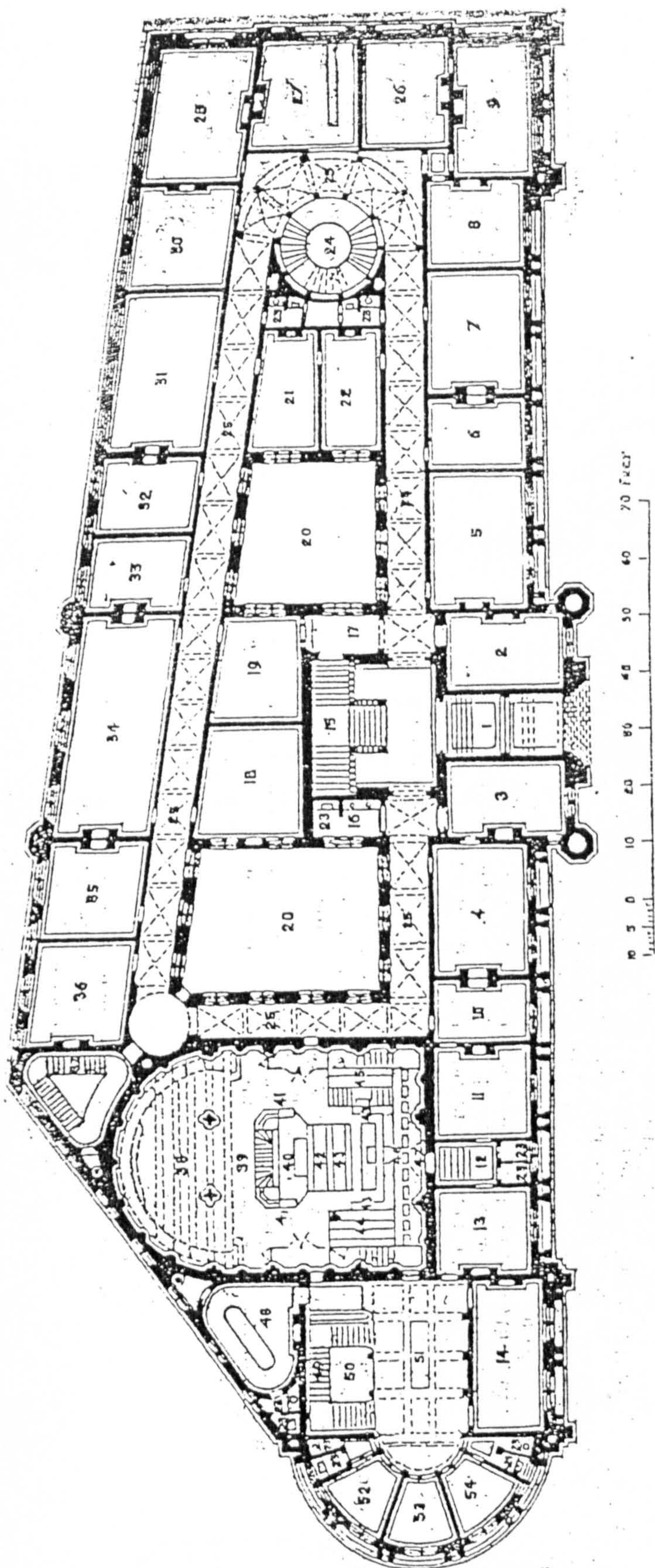


The clocktower of the **Bradford Town Hall** was modelled on the Tuscan *campanile* Gandolfo's tower at the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. The Bradford wool merchants saw great similarities between themselves and the Italian merchants of the Renaissance.





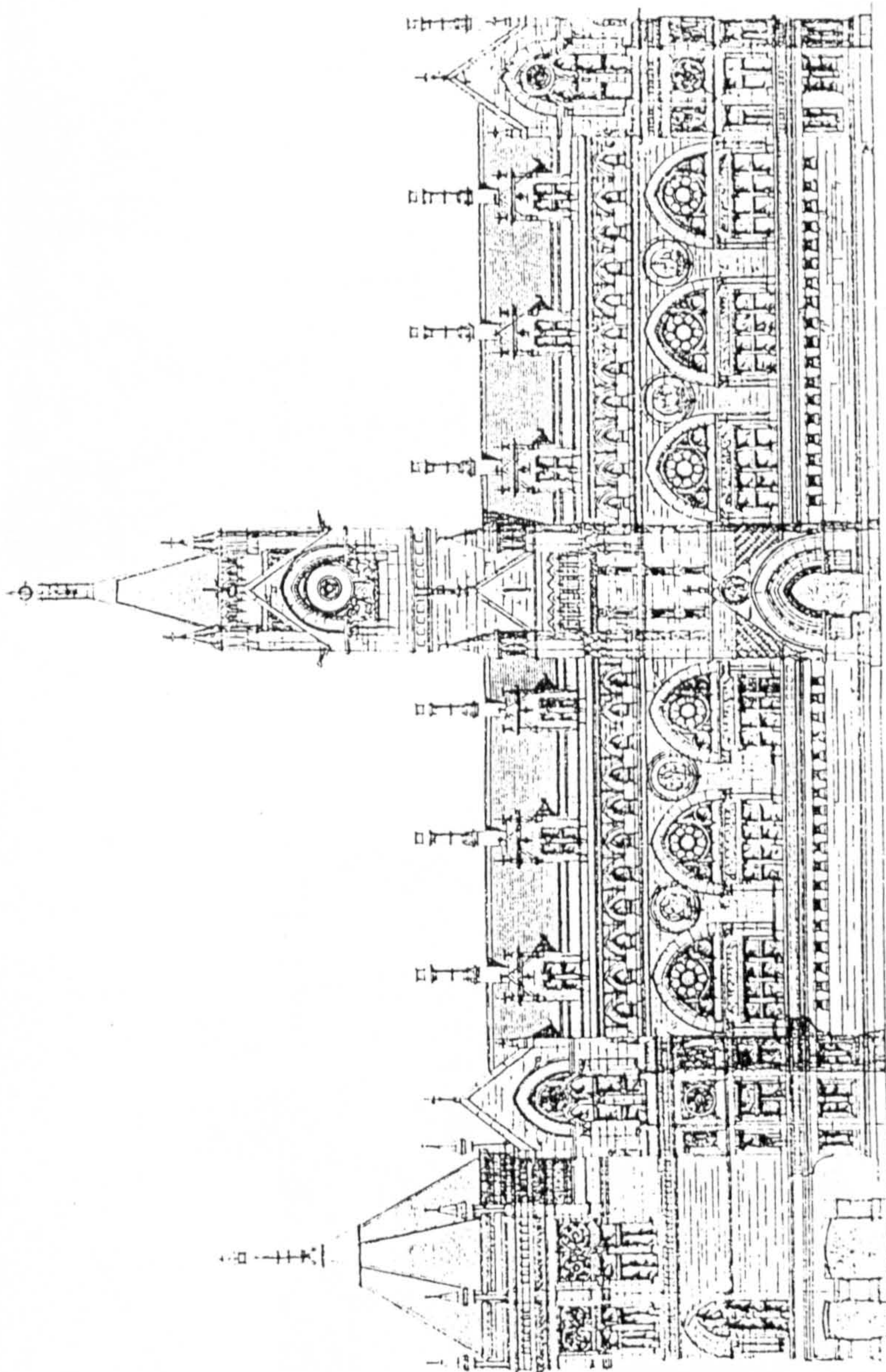
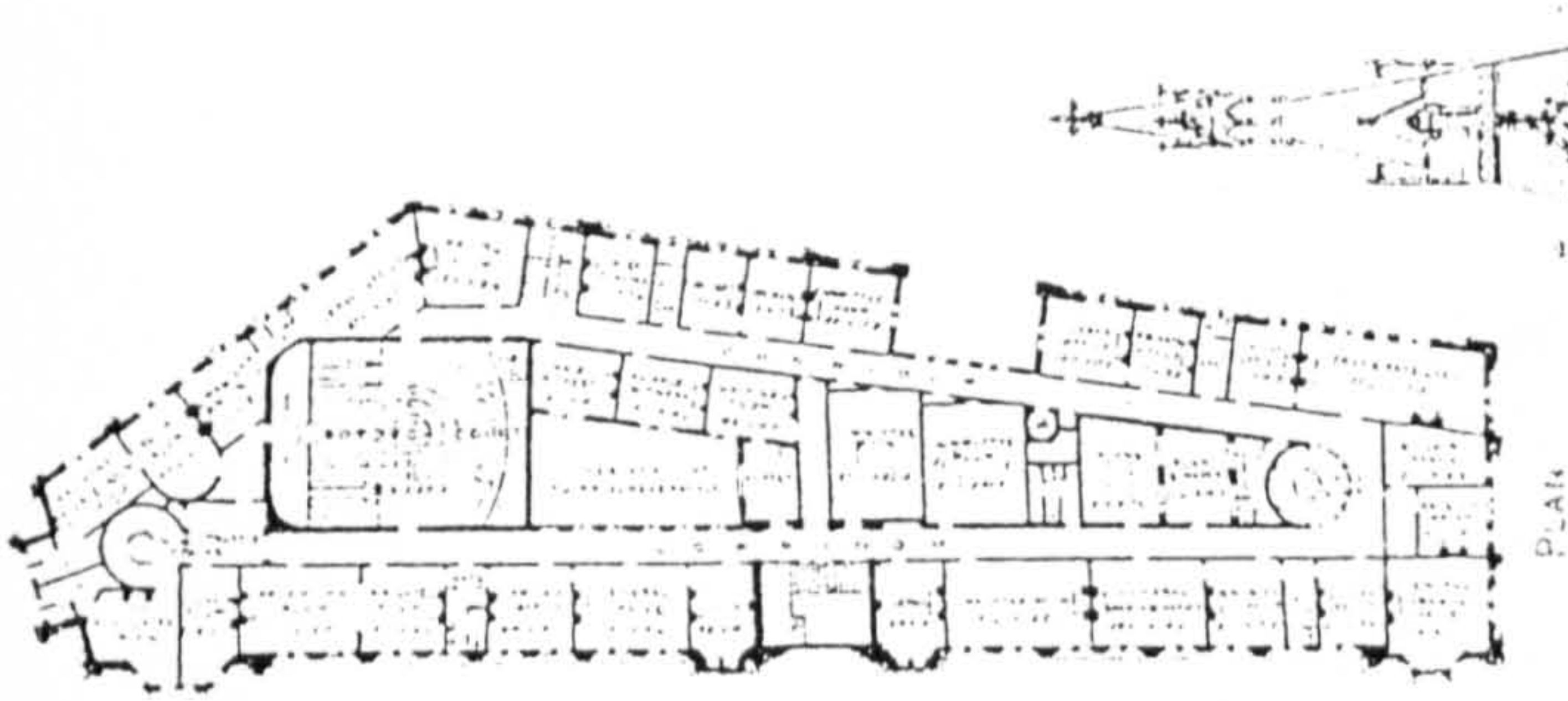
The plan of the town hall indicated once again how adept the architects were at fully utilising an awkward site. Their layout not only produced spectacular rooms and spaces but also separated the municipal offices from the courts. The use of two internal wells improved the lighting of the internal corridors.



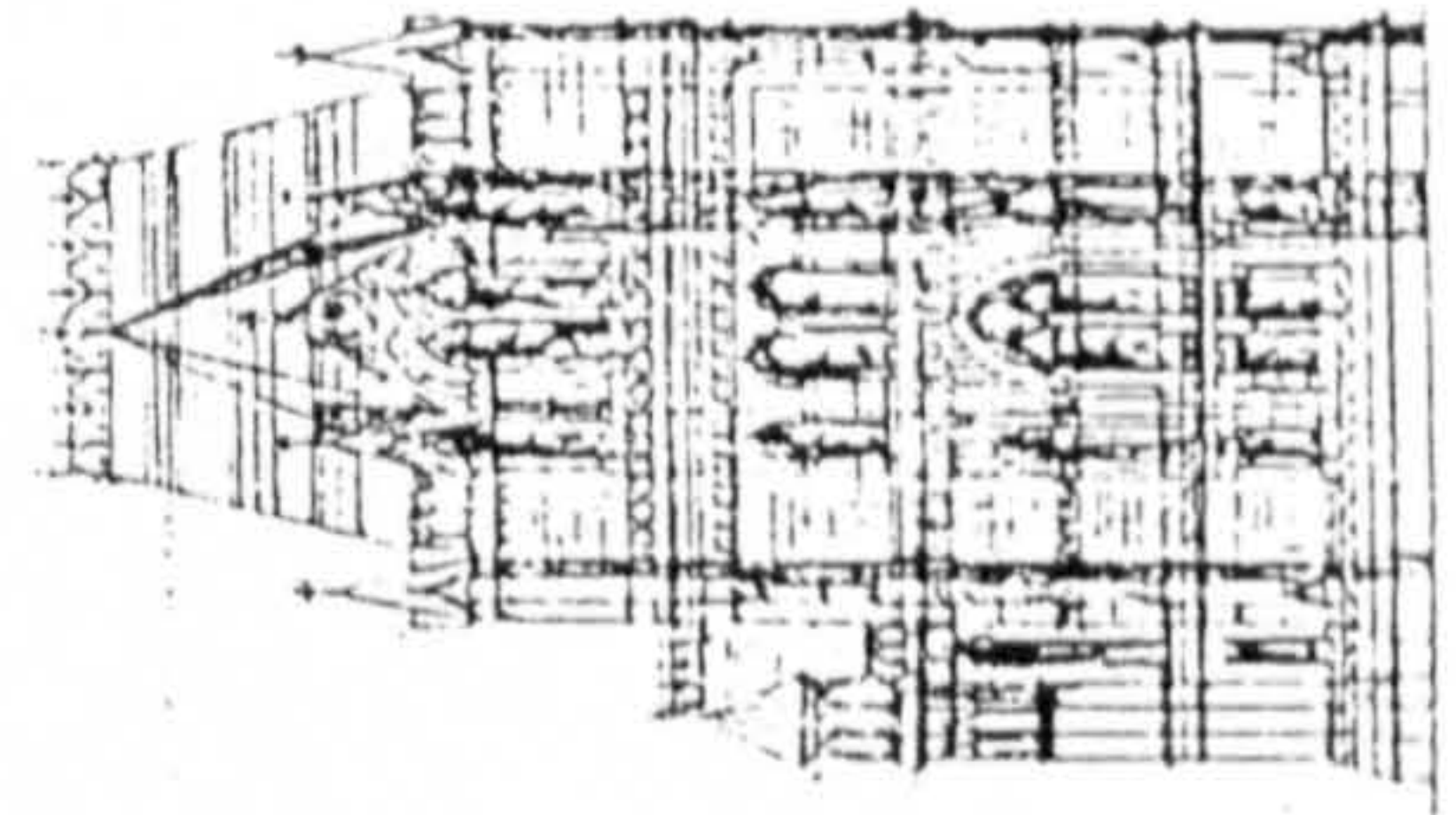
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|--|--|
| 1. Entrance vestibule                                    | 37. Public staircase to gallery of court |
| 2. Mayor's private room                                  | 38. Borough court                        |
| 3. Mayor's ante-room                                     | 39. Public gallery                       |
| 4. Mayor's reception room                                | 40. Dock                                 |
| 5. Town clerk's private room                             | 41. Police                               |
| 6. Town clerk's clerks' room                             | 42 & 43. Counsel and attorneys           |
| 7. Town clerk's general office                           | 44. Jury                                 |
| 8. Borough surveyor's assist. office                     | 45. Reporters                            |
| 9. Borough surveyor's general office                     | 46. The bench                            |
| 10. Magistrates' room                                    | 47. Porch                                |
| 11. Magistrates' retiring room                           | 48. Jury room                            |
| 12. Lobby  | 49. Police and witnesses                 |
| 13. Magistrates' clerk's room                            | 50. Staircase                            |
| 14. Magistrates' clerk's clerks' room                    | 51. Vestibule and waiting room           |
| 15. Vestibule and staircase                              | 52. Female witnesses                     |
| 16. Mayor's lavatory                                     | 53. Advocates' room                      |
| 17. Corridor   | 54. Male witnesses                       |
| 18. Committee room                                       |  |
|  |  |
| 19. General waiting room                                 |  |
| 20. Open court   |  |
| 21. Boro' accountant's clerks' office                    |  |
| 22. Boro' accountant's private office                    |  |
| 23. Lavatories etc.                                      |  |
| 24 & 25. Staircase to municipal offices                  |  |
| 26. Office for building plans                            |  |
| 27. Office for sale of water                             |  |
| 28. Waterworks engineer's general drawing office (no 29) |  |
| 30. Waterworks engineer's office                         |  |
| 31. Clerk's office for rates                             |  |
| 32. Boro' collector's private office                     |  |
| 33. Committee clerk's office                             |  |
| 34. Committee room                                       |  |
| 35 & 36. Committee rooms                                 |  |



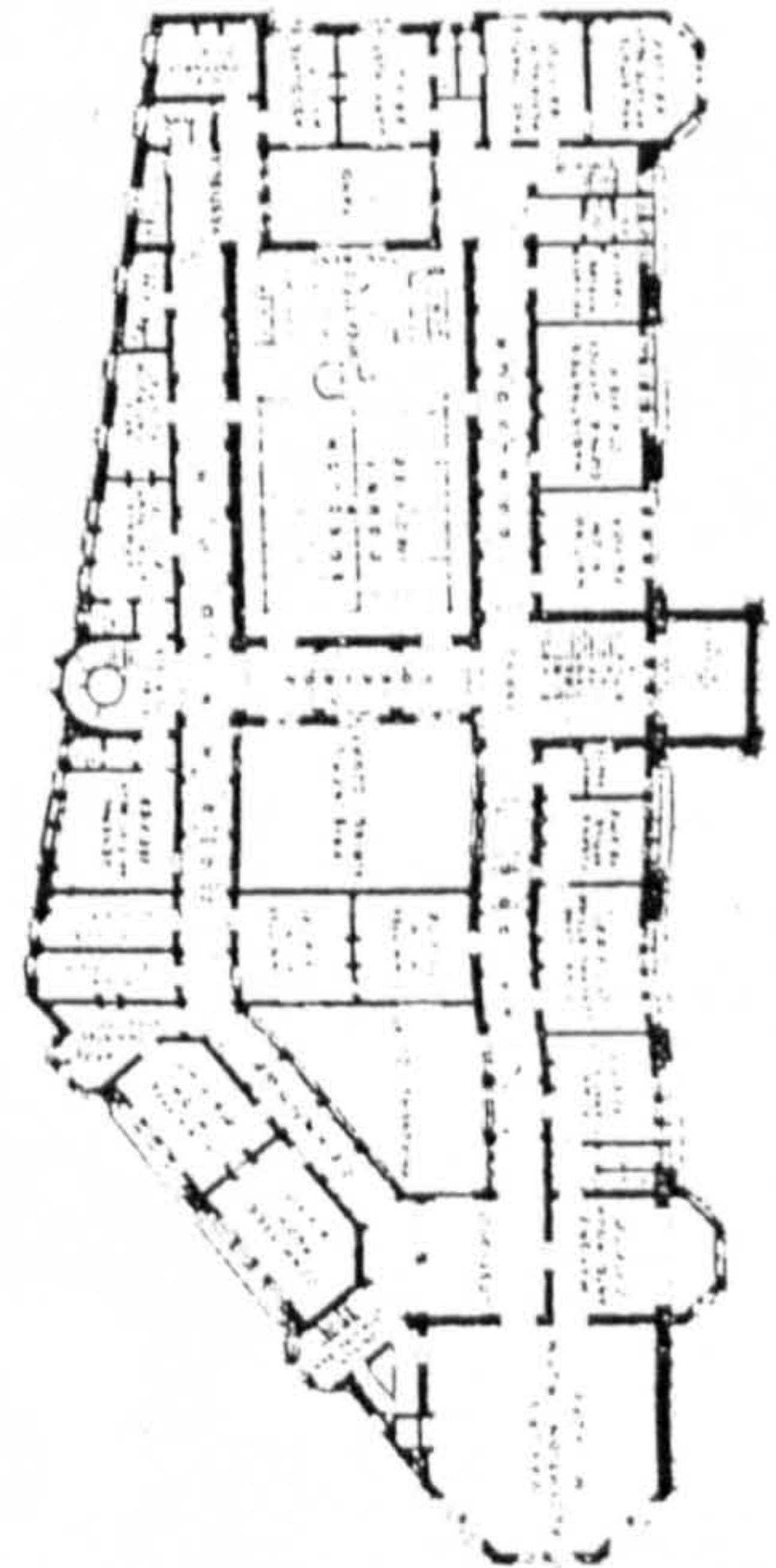
The unsuccessful schemes in the town hall competition were roundly criticised in the architectural press. Walford and Evill's facade was ugly and had a prison-like base. Milnes and France's second-placed design was compared to an upside-down toast rack, whilst Jackson's designs were nicknamed 'gabled on the brain' despite being awarded the third premium.



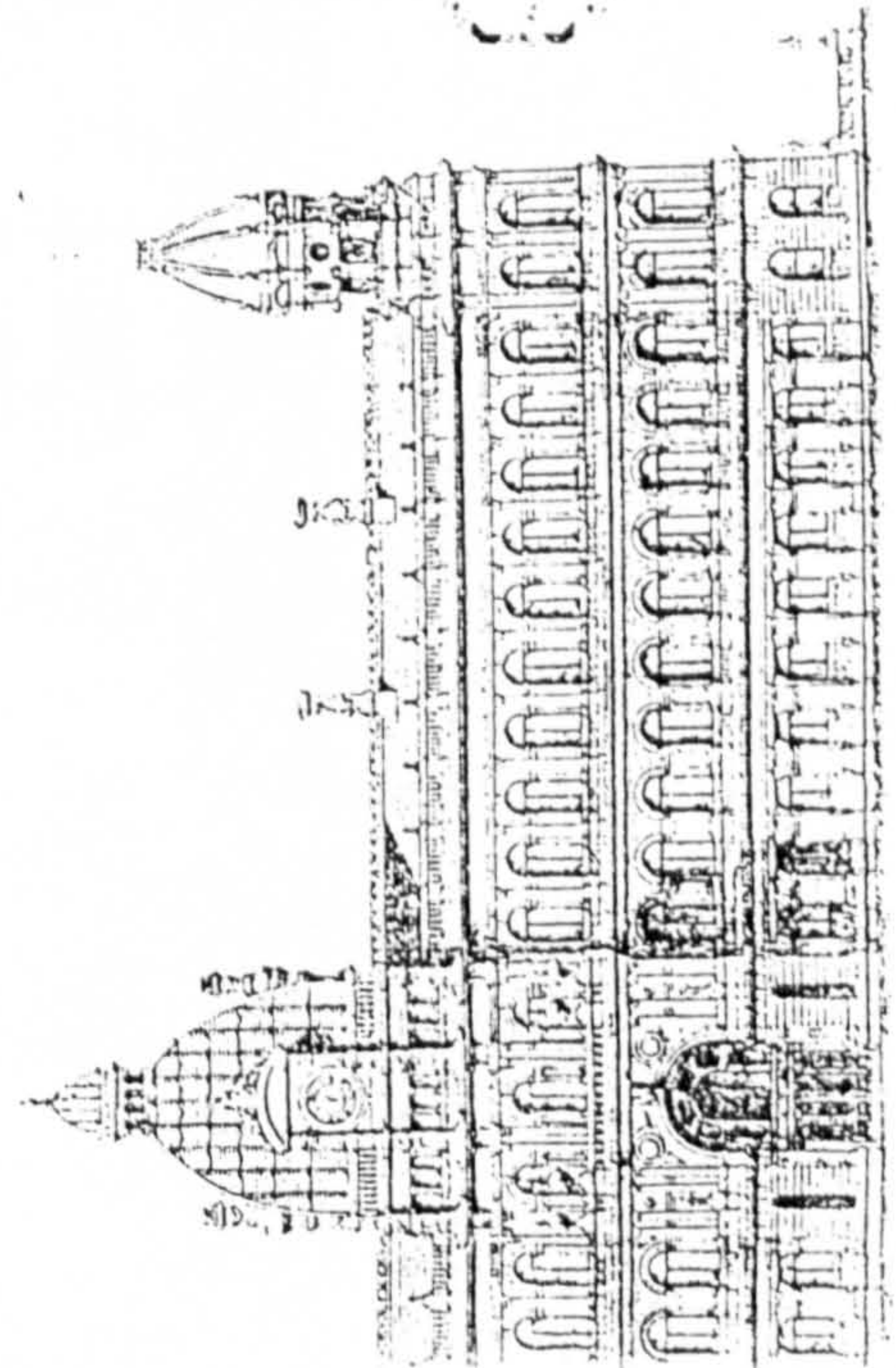
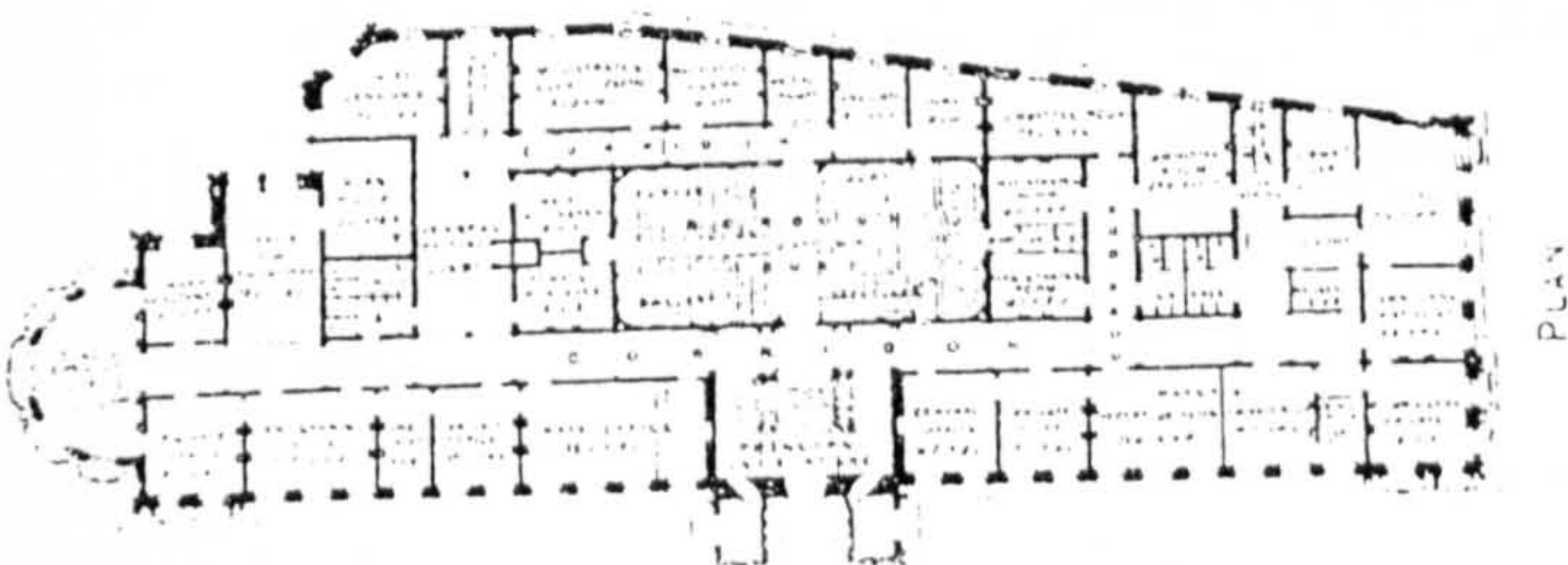
DESIGN OF MESSRS WALFORD & EVILL



DESIGN OF MESSRS JACKSON



PLAN OF MESSRS WALFORD & EVILL'S DESIGN



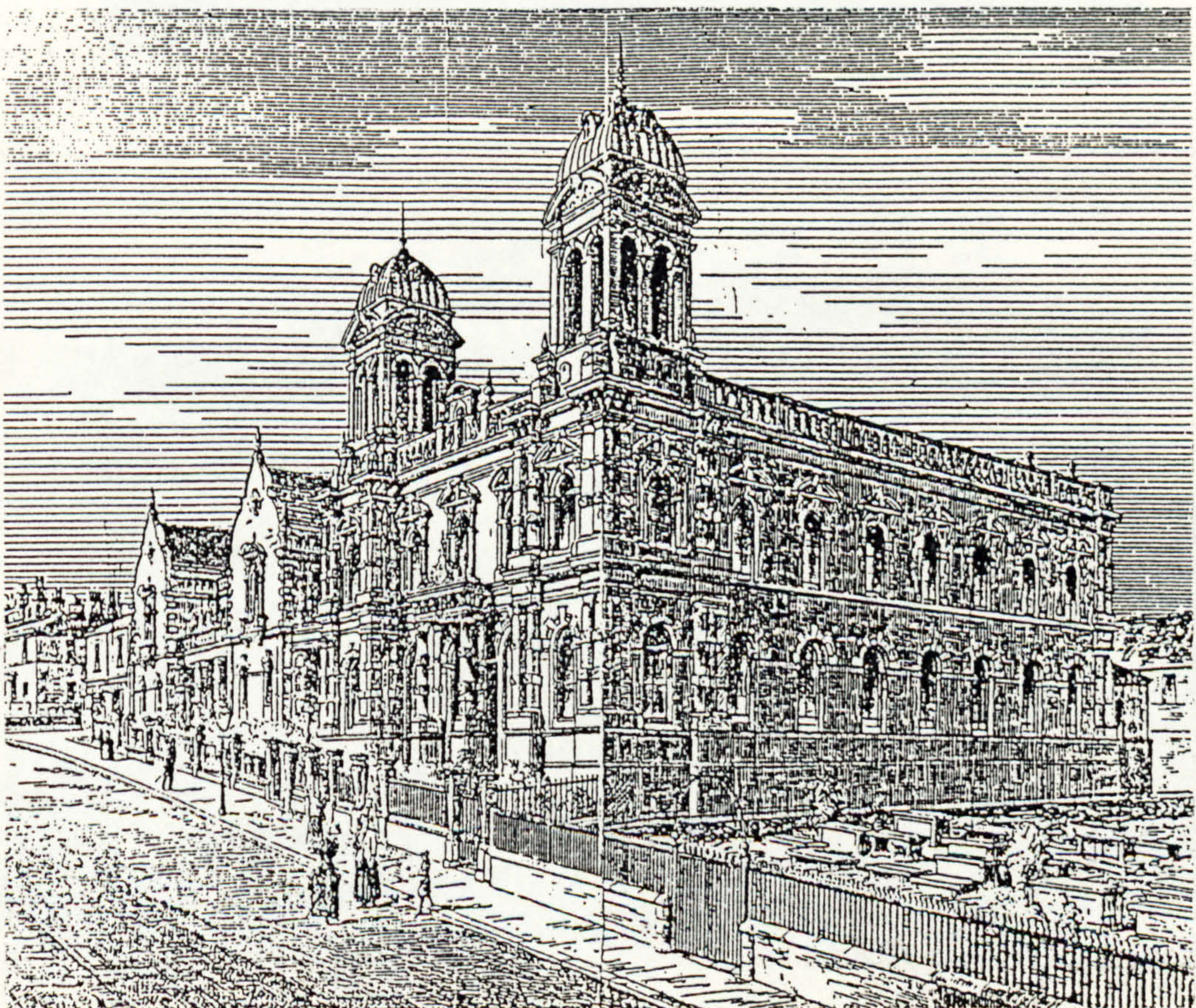
DESIGN OF MESSRS MILNES & FRANCE







- lxvi     **The Providence Place Congregational Church in Cleckheaton** (top) was a variation on the temple theme with its five bay colonnade. Not unusually, much of the decoration was restricted to the facade with the sides left very plain.
- lxvii    **The Horton Lane Congregational Church** was Bradford's cathedral of Nonconformity. The eclectic building mixed Italianate, French, Dutch and English Elizabethan features. Although successfully ostentatious it was a much less accomplished design than many of their other church commissions. The building at the side was the church school and still survives.





lxviii     **The City Temple** (top) was evidence of Lockwood and Mawson's prestige amongst the Congregational Church. The building was a successful mixture of Italian and French Classical architecture, whilst the form pays homage to the City churches.

lxix        Back in Bradford, the **Sion Baptist Church** was equally showy but more closely based on the well-tried temple form. The strong facade is marred slightly by the poorly proportioned pediments above the first floor windows, yet the building retains its grandeur despite the proximity of the ring road today.



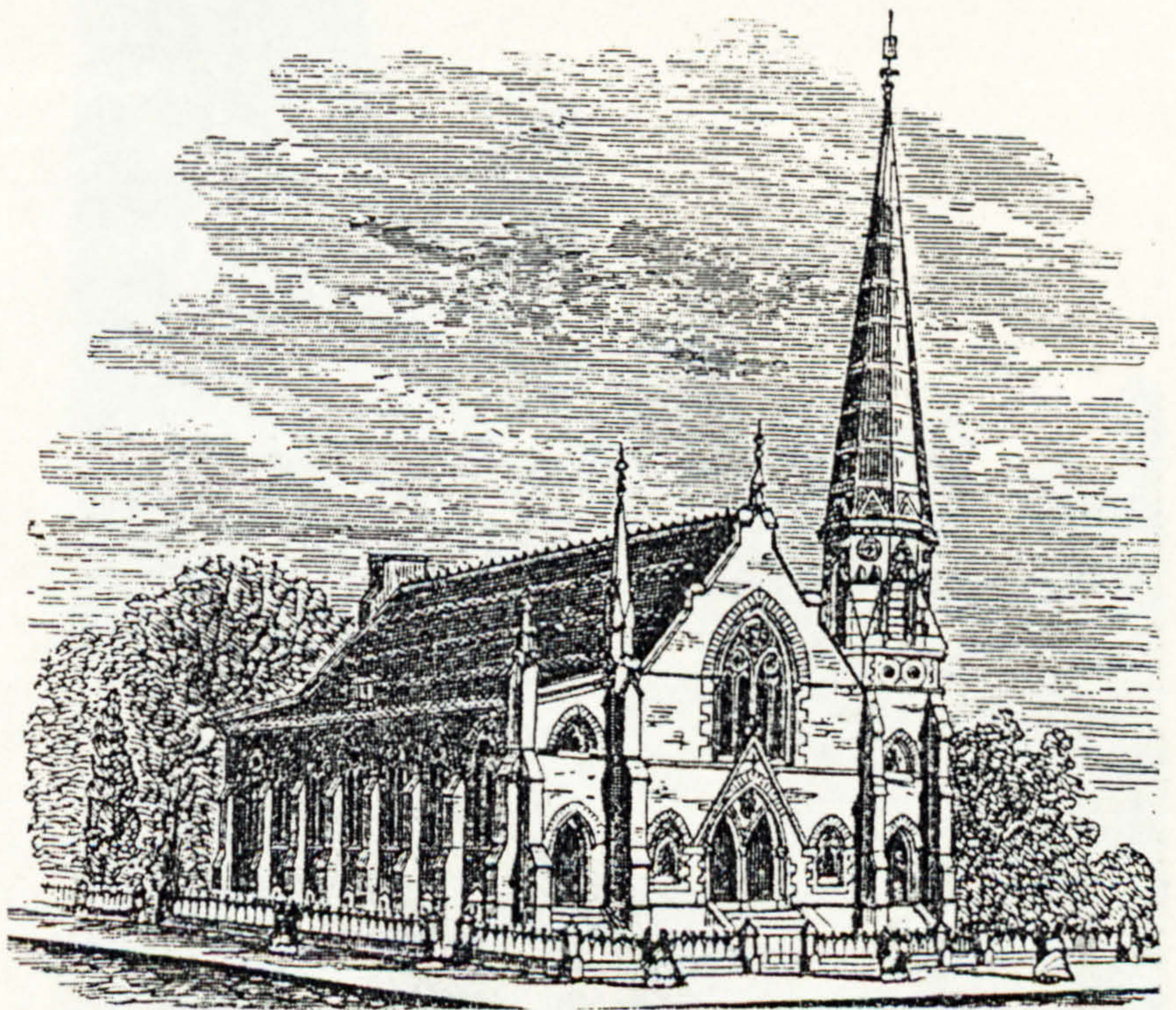


lxx

**The Oxford Road Wesleyan Methodist Church** (top) was a budget version of the temple form commonly used by Lockwood and Mawson for Nonconformist chapels.

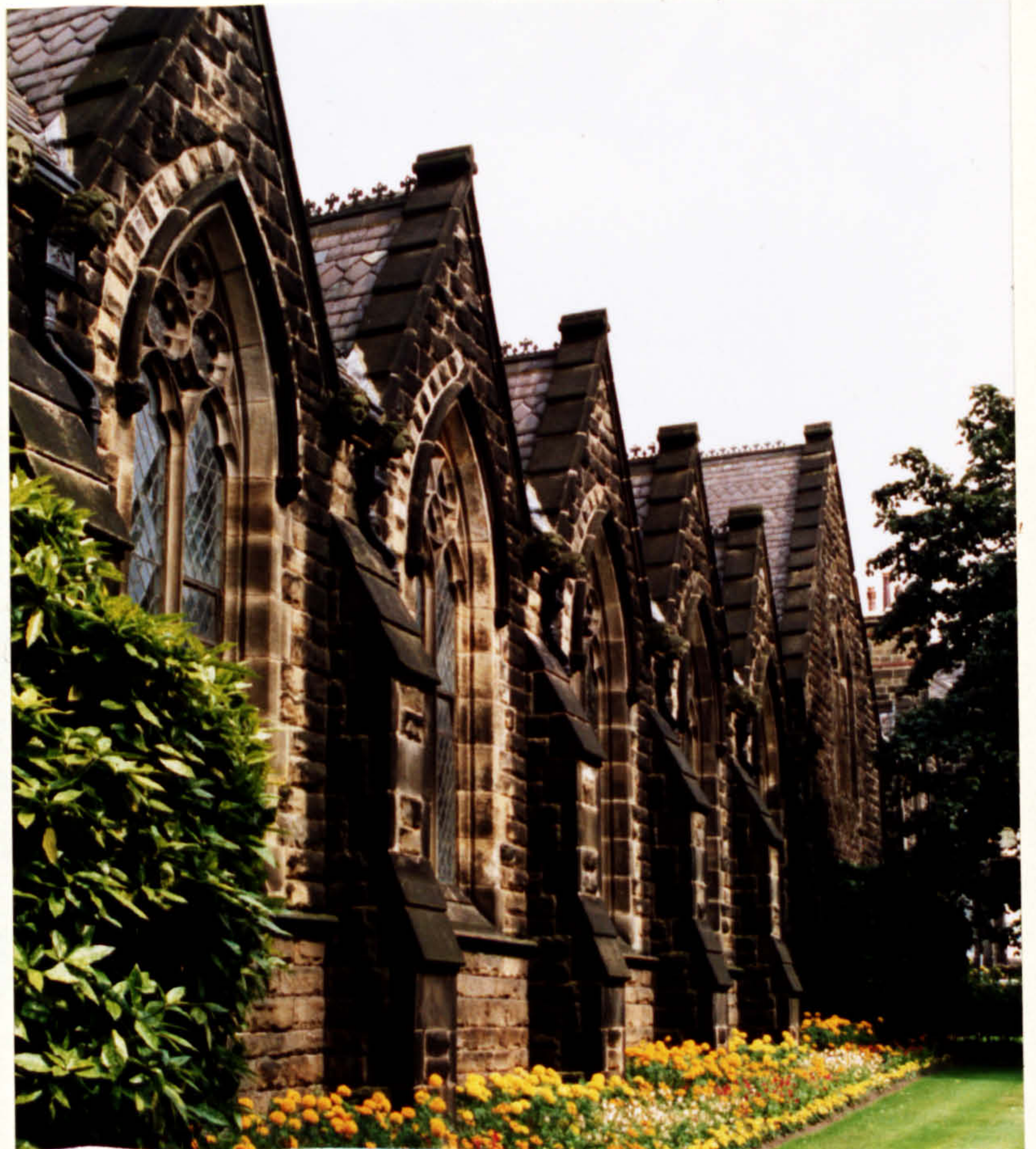
lxxi

In contrast **The Warwick Gardens Wesleyan Methodist Church** (bottom) was in a fashionable part of London and was designed in a more fashionable Gothic style with an asymmetrically-placed tower. This was built in 1863, only a year after the Oxford Road chapel.





**The Victoria Avenue Congregational Church in Harrogate** was the earliest of Lockwood and Mawson's churches with an asymmetrically-placed corner tower. The rhythm of the gables on the side elevation gave the building an almost industrial feel. The kneelers were decorated with the heads of various Nonconformist church worthies.



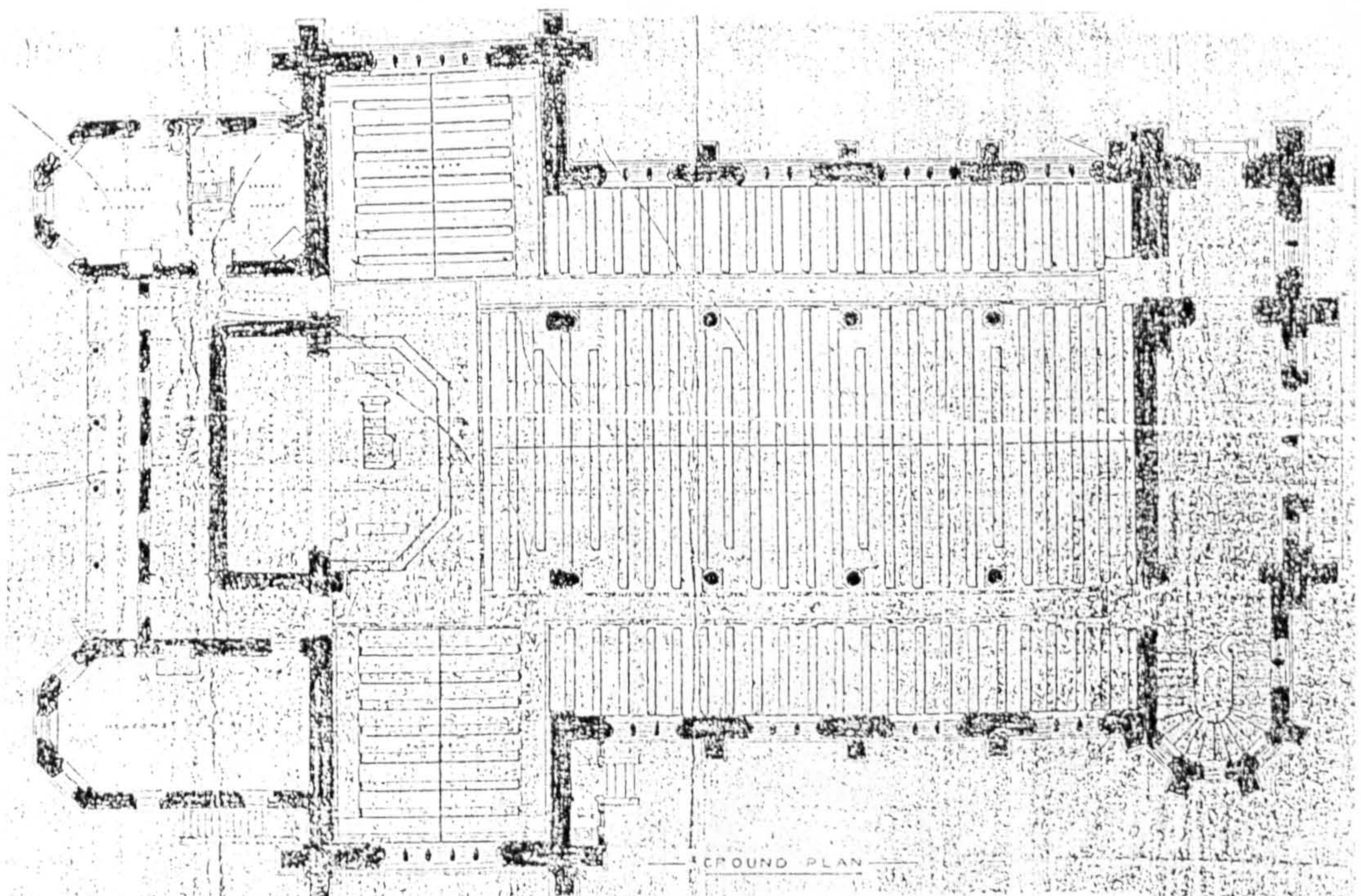
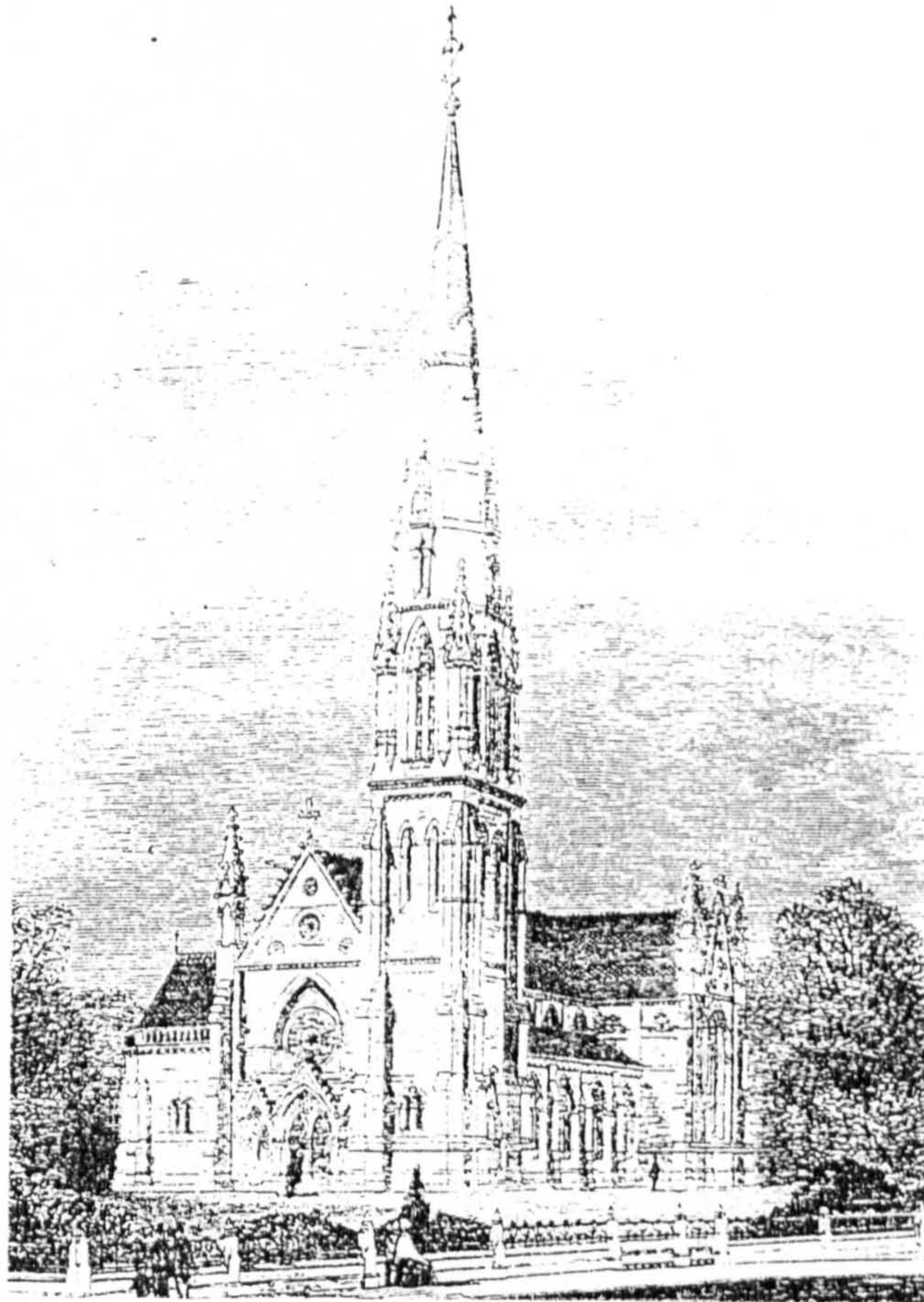


lxxiii

**The Ramshill Road Congregational Church, Scarborough** was an extremely successful Gothic design made possible by a donation from Titus Salt who holidayed in the resort. It remains the most striking church in the town today.

lxxiv

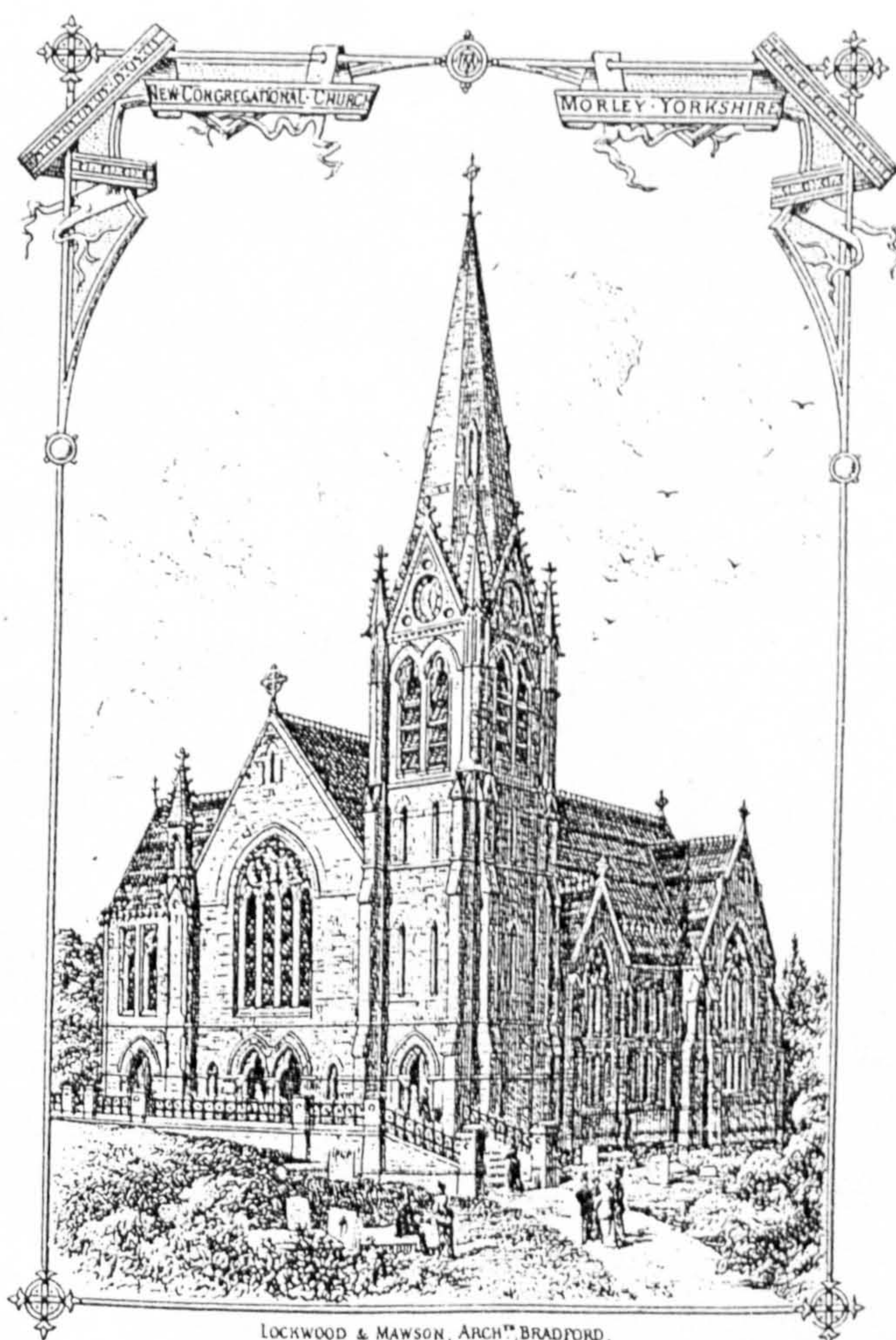
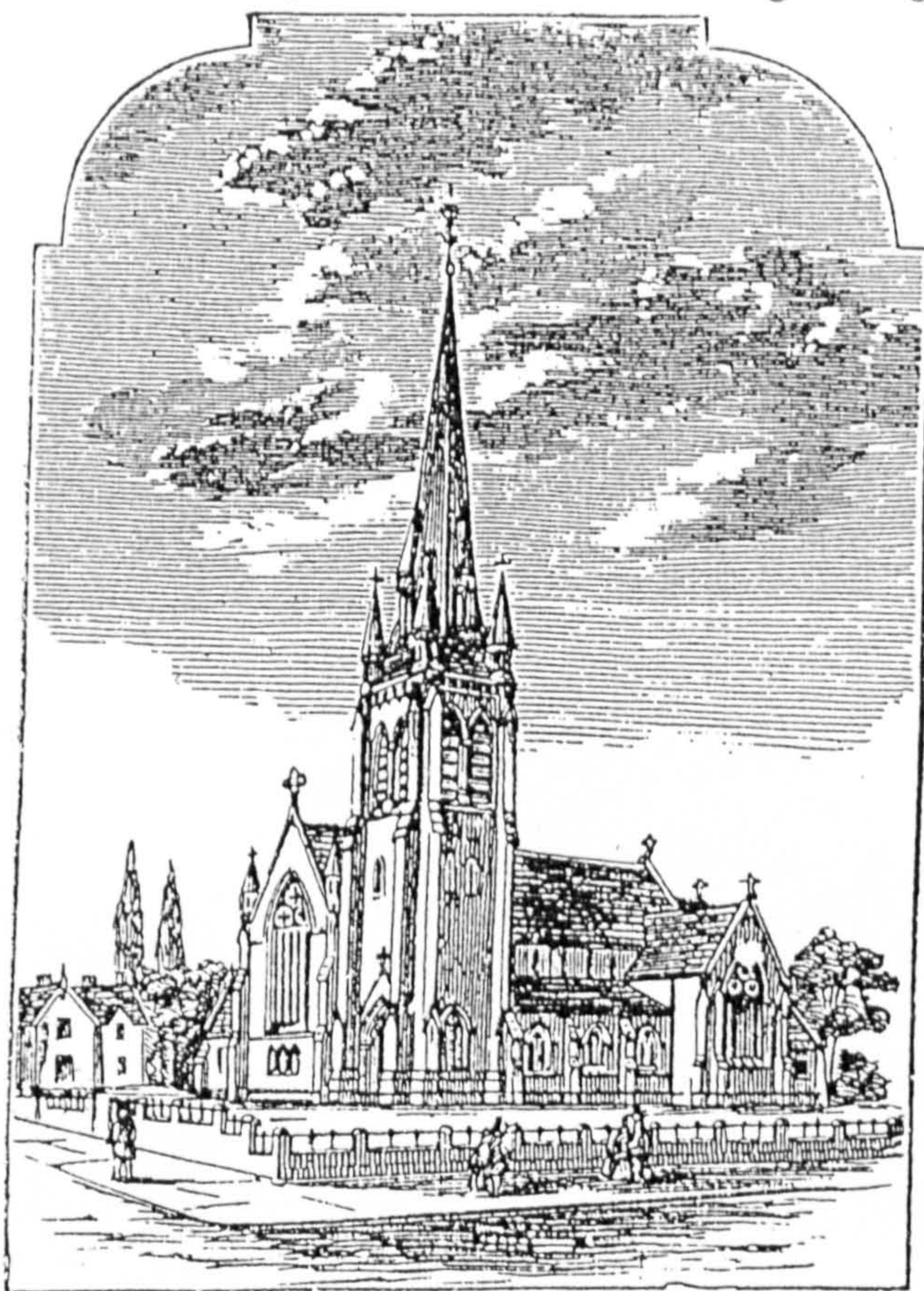
The plan shows how a Gothic building could be adapted to Nonconformist worship as the lack of a central aisle, with side aisles used for circulation, meant that a clear view of the pulpit was possible from almost everywhere within the church.





lxxv     **The Lightcliffe Congregational Church** (top) was built opposite Salt's house and was financed by him and his friend John Crossley. Stylistically it was virtually identical to the Ramshill Road church.

lxxvi     **The St Mary in the Wood Congregational Church** at Morley (bottom) was another Gothic super-chapel virtually identical to those at Scarborough and Lightcliffe.



LOCKWOOD & MAWSON, ARCHT<sup>S</sup>, BRADFORD.

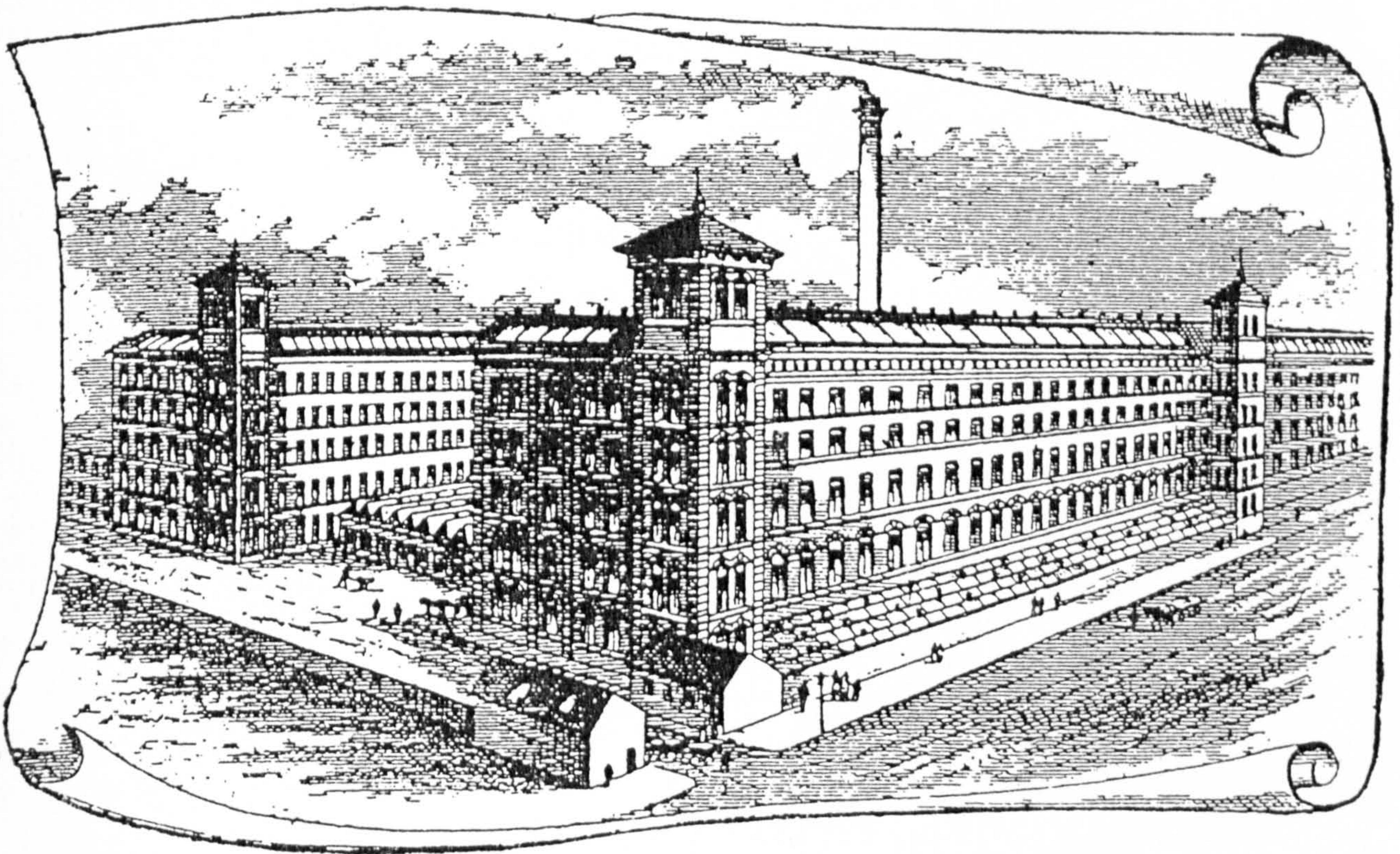
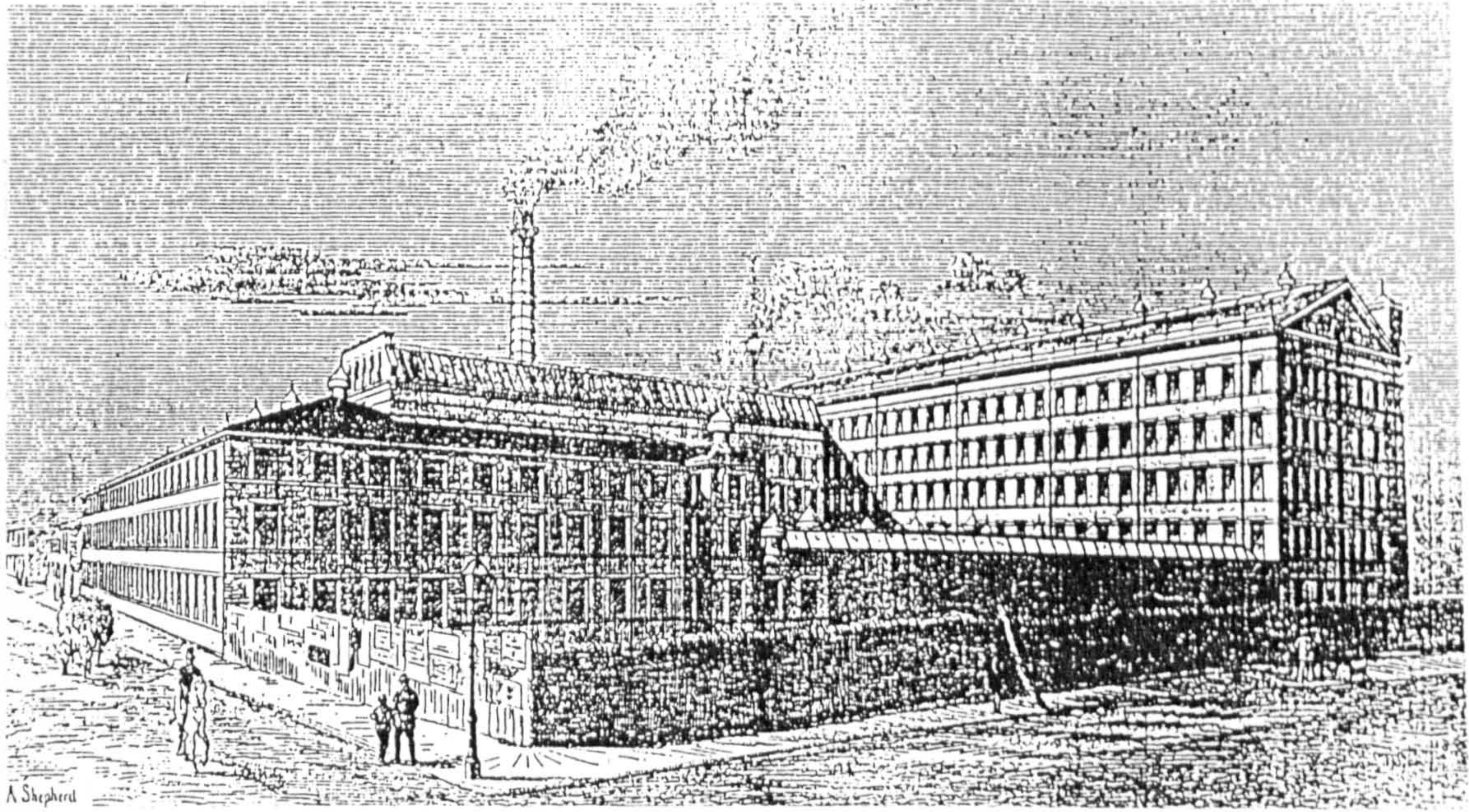


lxxvii    **The Baptist Church, Albemarle Crescent, Scarborough** was Lockwood and Mawson's first commission for the Baptists. Externally it was asymmetrical with a continental feel. Inside the slender cast iron columns supported an open timber roof and ensured that the congregation had a clear view of both pulpit and baptismal font in the apse.





lxxviii In addition to the huge mill at Saltaire, Lockwood and Mawson designed two other wool mills in Bradford. **Lumb Lane Mills** (top) was built in 1858 with the larger warehouse added eleven years later. **Legrams Mill** (bottom) was built in 1873 yet continued the tradition of Italianate decoration begun at Saltaire more than twenty years earlier.





lxxix **The American and Chinese Export Company Warehouse** in Bradford's Little Germany (top) was an elaborate *palazzo*. The canted corner was the focus of much of the decoration and the doorcase was beautifully carved with appropriate motifs including an American eagle.

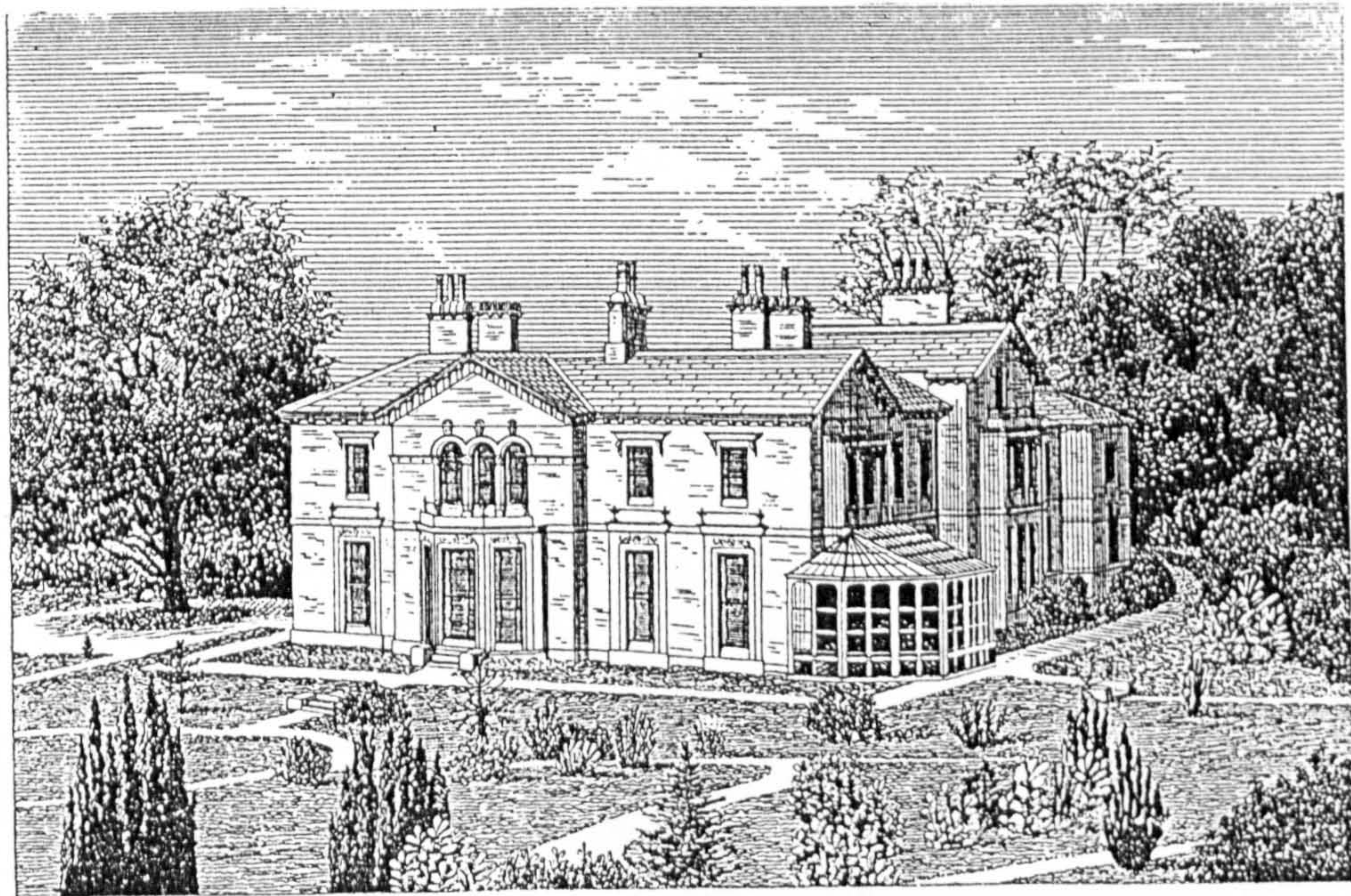
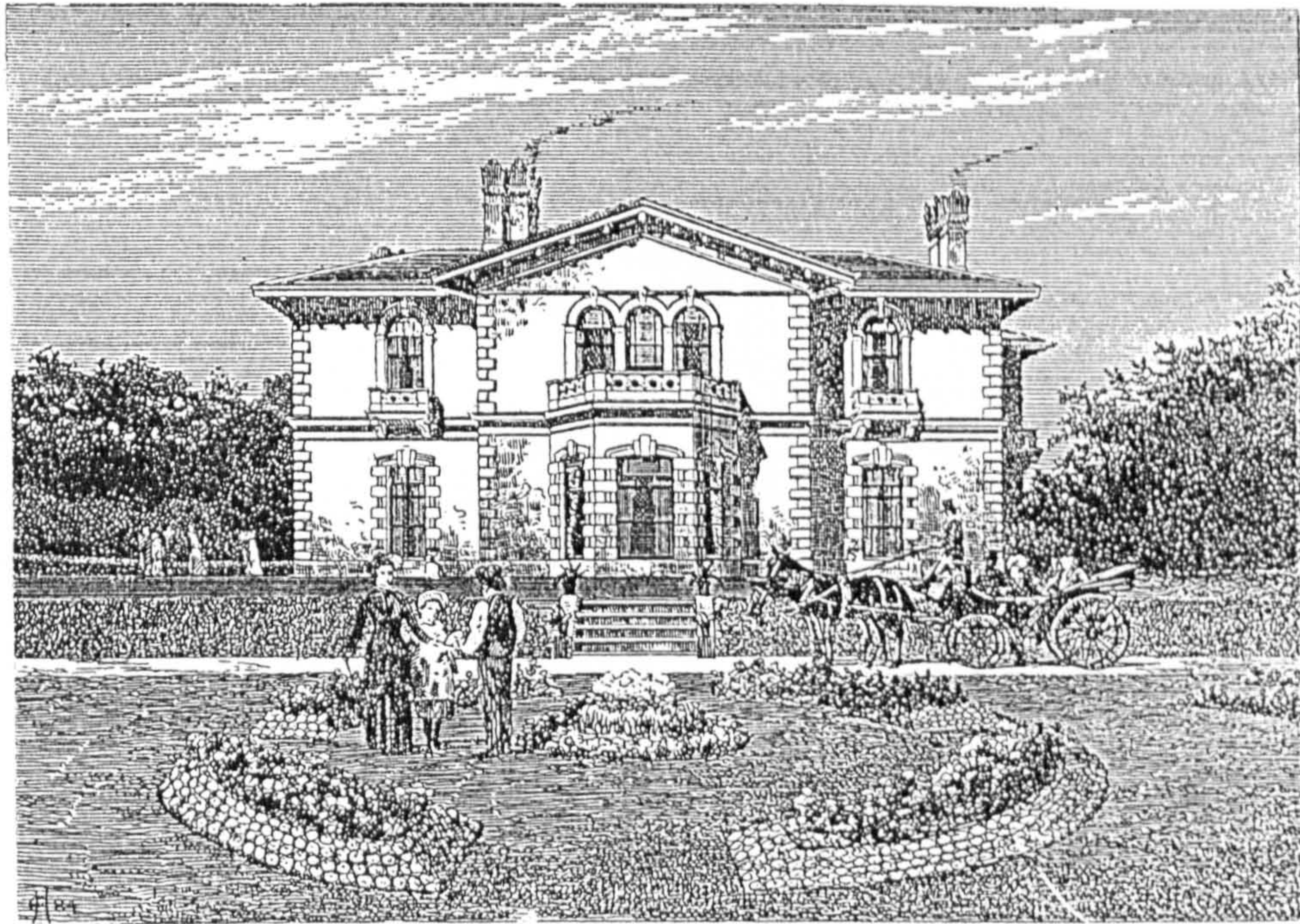
lxxx **The Law Russell Warehouse** (bottom) was virtually opposite and had a dramatic corner pavilion with superimposed Corinthian columns. The planning of the warehouse and the virtually seamless join of a five storey pavilion with a seven-storey warehouse show the skill of the architects.





lxxxi     **Ferncliffe, Calverley** was a relatively plain Italianate villa set on the summit of a cliff. A Gothic gatehouse was also provided.

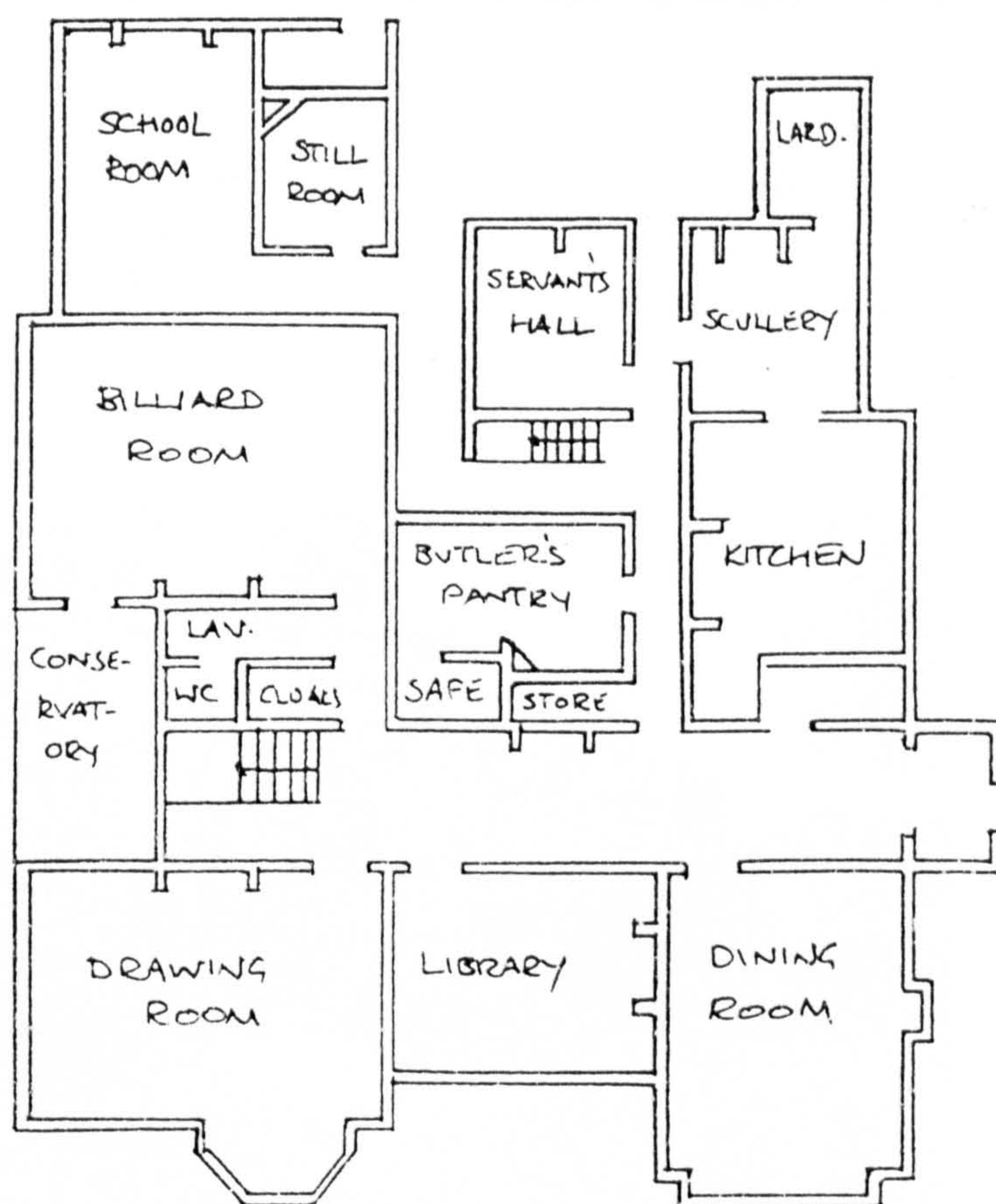
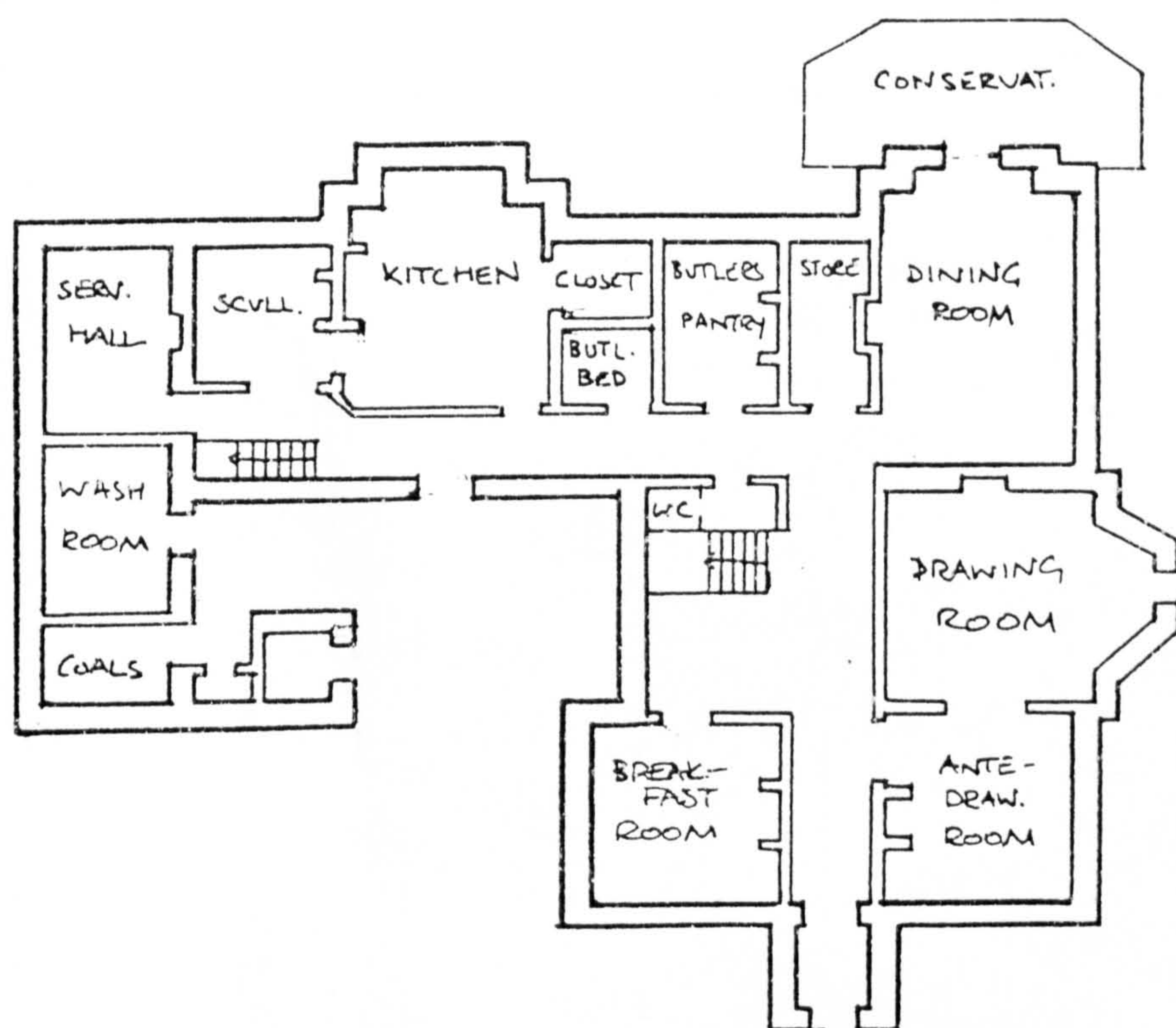
lxxxiiia     Although much larger, **Longwood, Bingley** was also a quite plain Italianate design built twelve years after Ferncliffe in 1867. The fashion for Italianate designs continued amongst the leading figures in Bradford industry well into Victoria's reign.





lxxxii **Longwood, Bingley:** (top) the plan form of the house ensured separation of the principal rooms from the servants' quarters which were built around a rear yard.

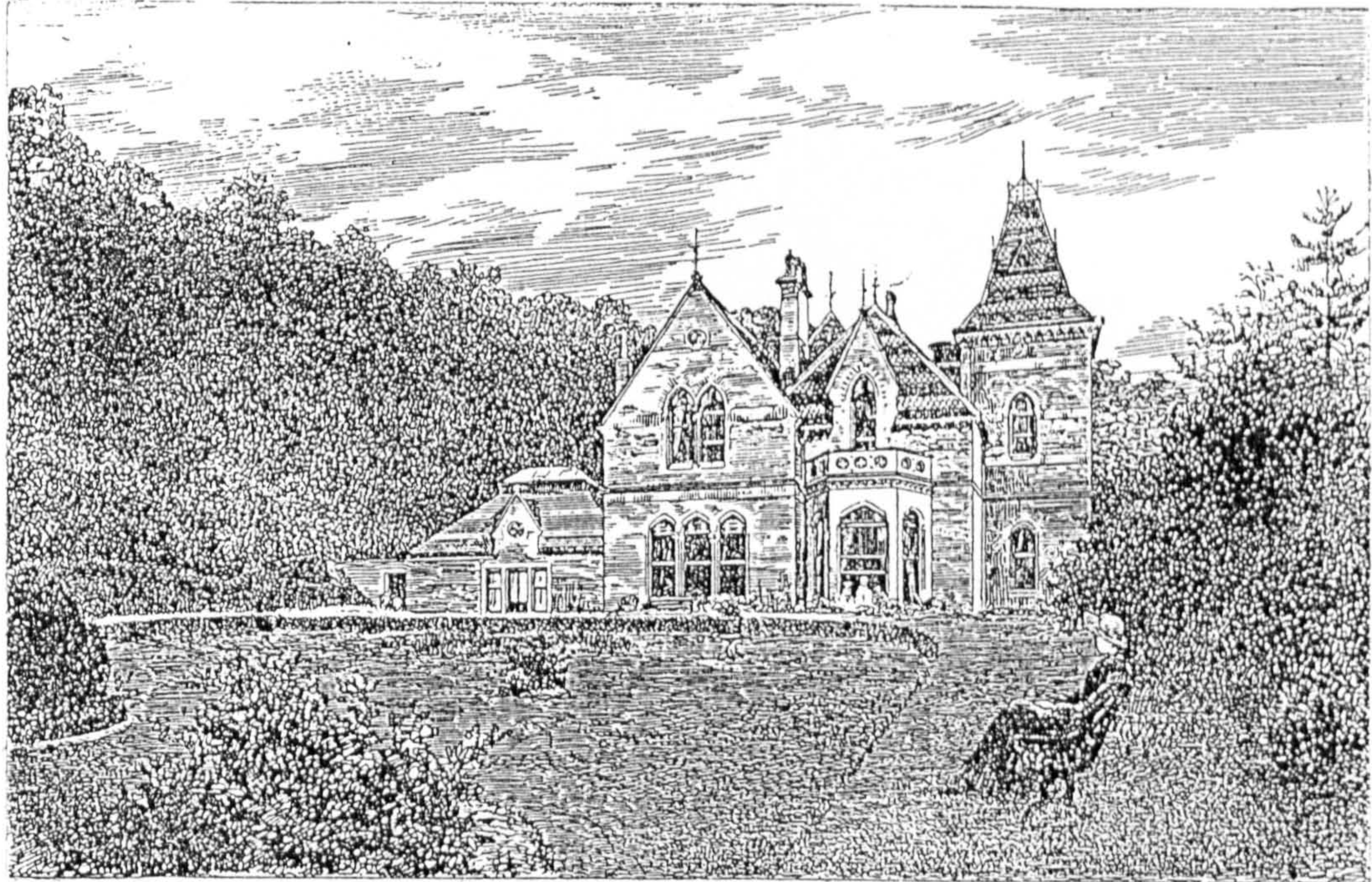
lxxxiii At **Holmefield, Thornes**, (bottom) Lockwood and Mawson made alterations and so had to work within the confines of the existing plan. Consequently the formal rooms wrapped around the service rooms and meant a rather unsatisfactory route from kitchen to dining room across the entrance hall.





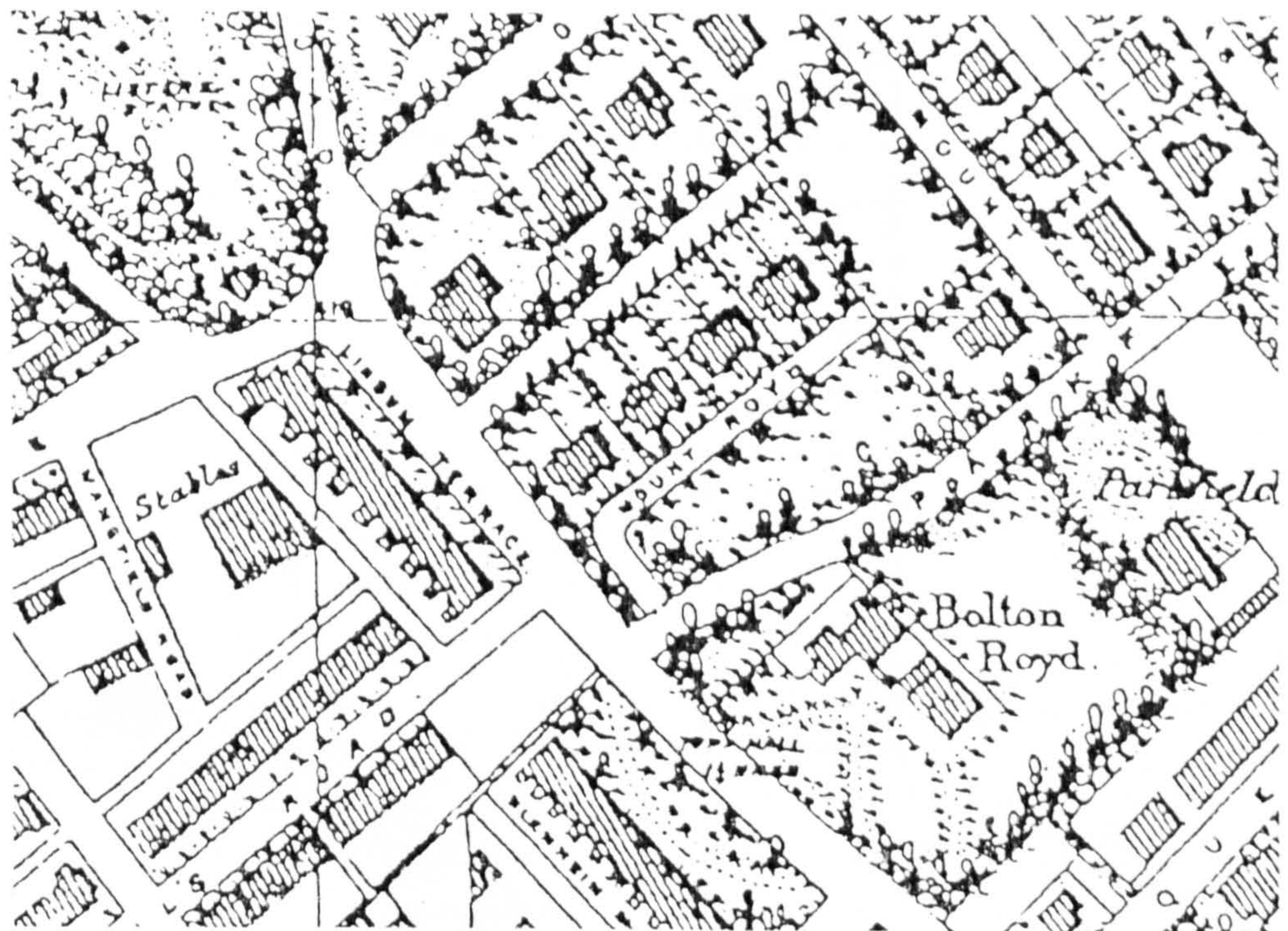
lxxxiv **Cragg Royd, Apperley Bridge** (top) was in a Gothic style with French and Italianate features which developed after the Wool Exchange designs. The single storey billiard room (attached to the left of the house) had an open hammer-beam roof like the trading hall at the Exchange. Despite the Gothic style, the pattern of windows including the first-floor balcony opening onto the roof of the bay was a feature common to their Classical designs.

lxxxv **Woodleigh Hall** (bottom) was a more sophisticated design in an Elizabethan style which remained popular amongst Bradford's industrialists well into the second half of the century. Like many of their private house commissions, the architects included a large palm house attached to the right of the principal front.





lxxxvi **Mount Royd** was a rare design for the middle classes financed through a building club. It was an extremely fine location and the houses were exceptionally well appointed with a mixture of Italianate and French Gothic detailing. The architects also designed the landscaped grounds and the development could truly be described as *rus in urbe*.





lxxxvii **The Welton Police House** was in complete contrast to the other police houses designed by the architects. Its Gothic style was presumably chosen because of the awkward shape of the site which would have made the usual symmetrical Italianate designs unfeasible.

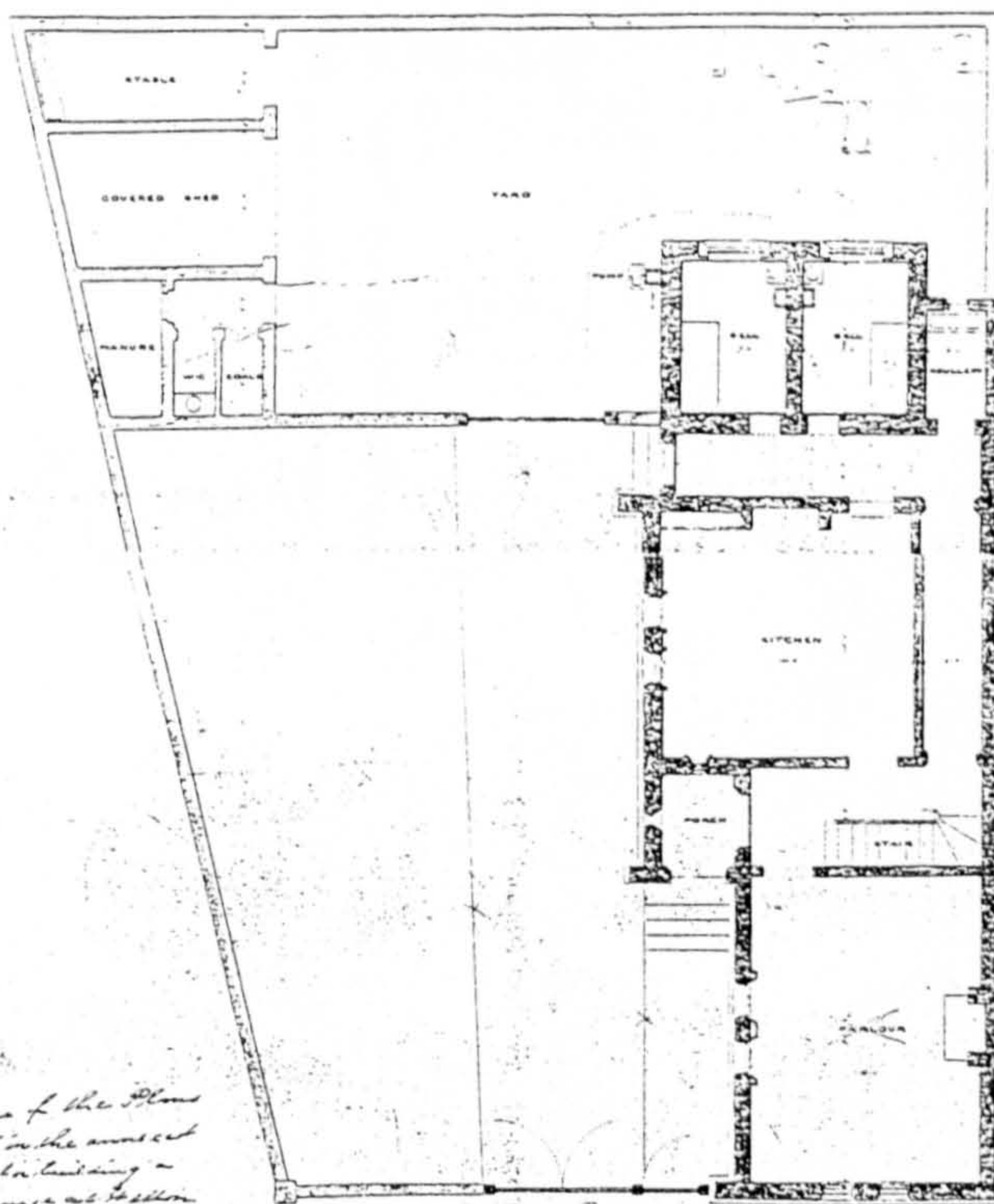


— FRONT ELEVATION —



— SIDE ELEVATION —

*This is one of the Plans submitted  
in the annual competition for building  
a Police House at Welton  
P. W. B. Smith  
1874*

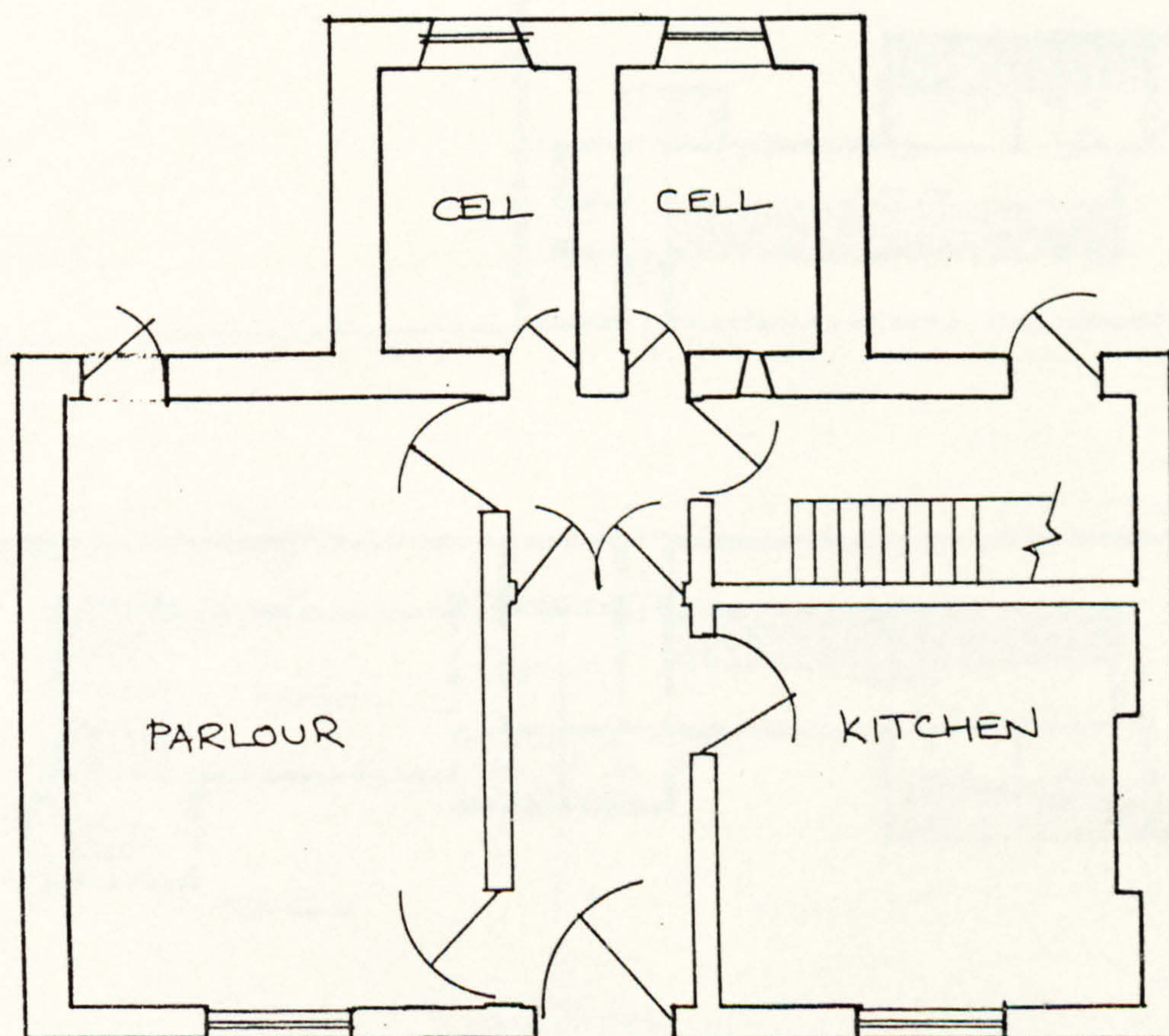


— GROUND PLAN —

*This is one of the Plans  
submitted in the annual  
competition for building a  
Police House at Welton.  
P. W. B. Smith  
1874*

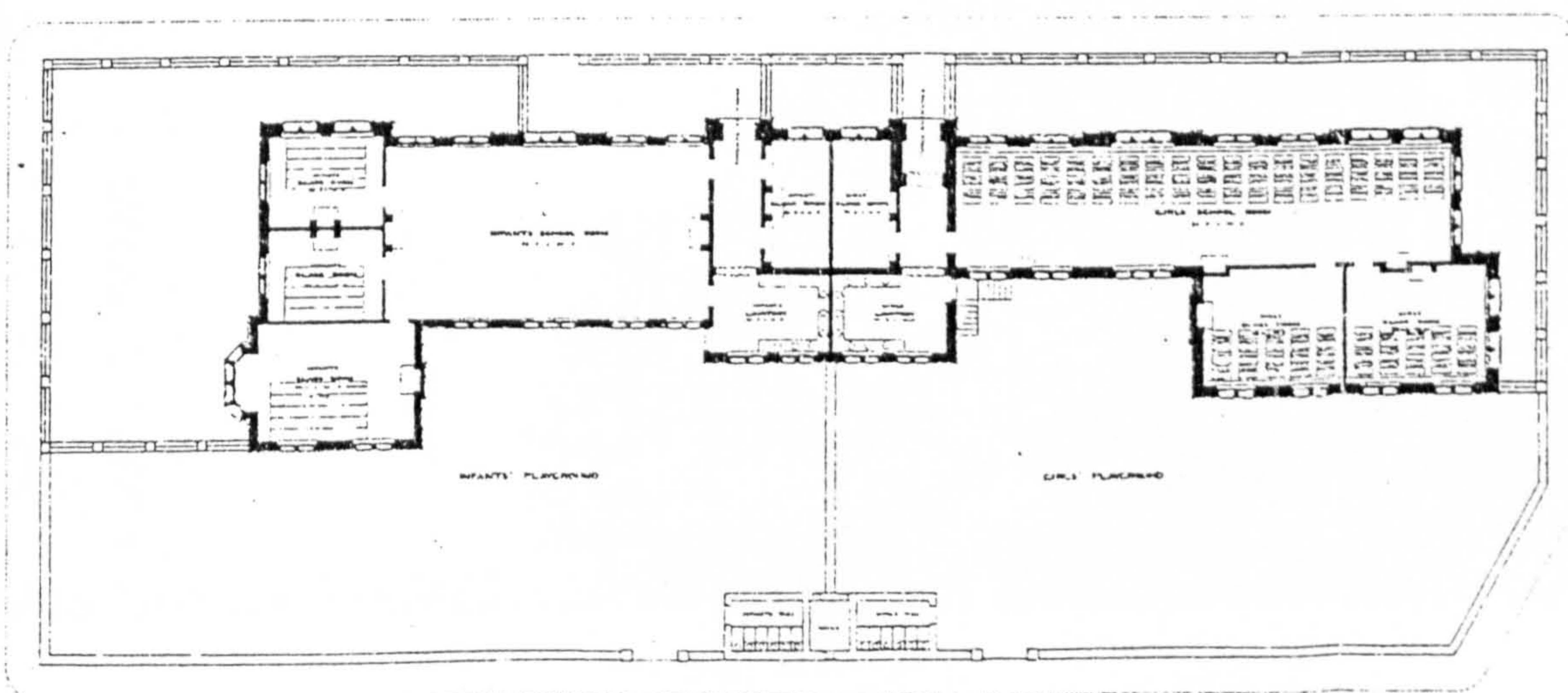
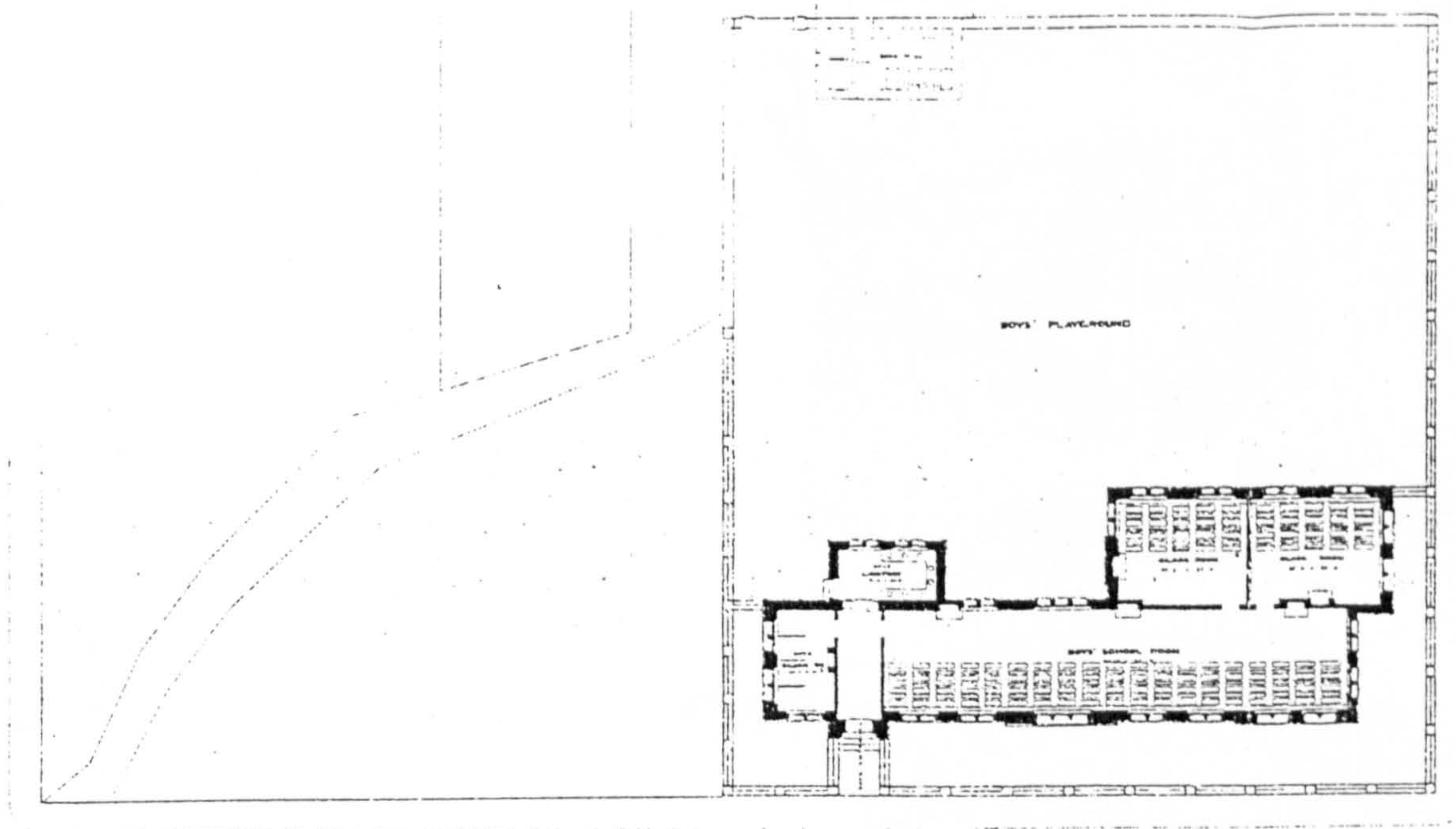


lxxxviii **The Police House at Sproatley** saw a return to the Italianate style with attractive arched ground floor windows and a prominent cornice. The plan form was similar to the three 'lock-ups' designed by Lockwood in 1843.



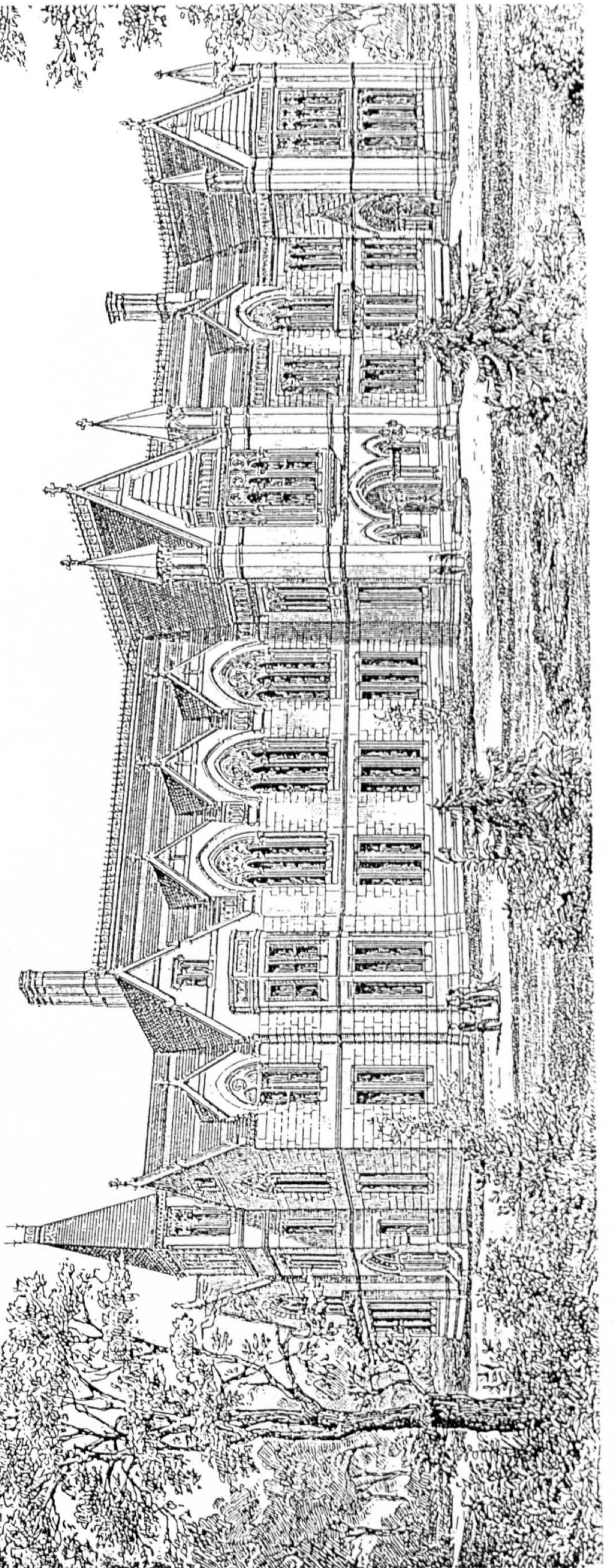
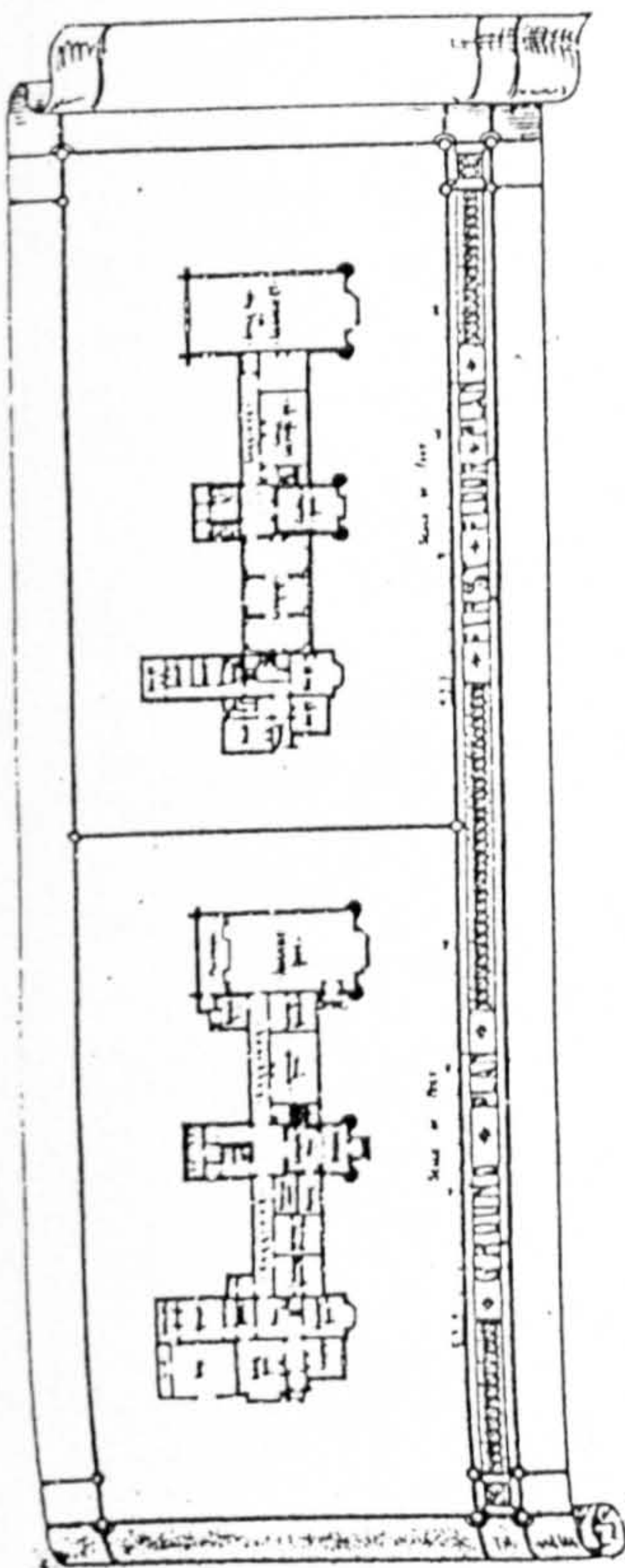


The Feversham Street School was one of a number of schools designed by Bradford architects for the local school board. Lockwood and Mawson's Gothic design ensured easy separation of boys, girls and infants and made a suitable architectural statement to advertise the forward-thinking Bradford Board.



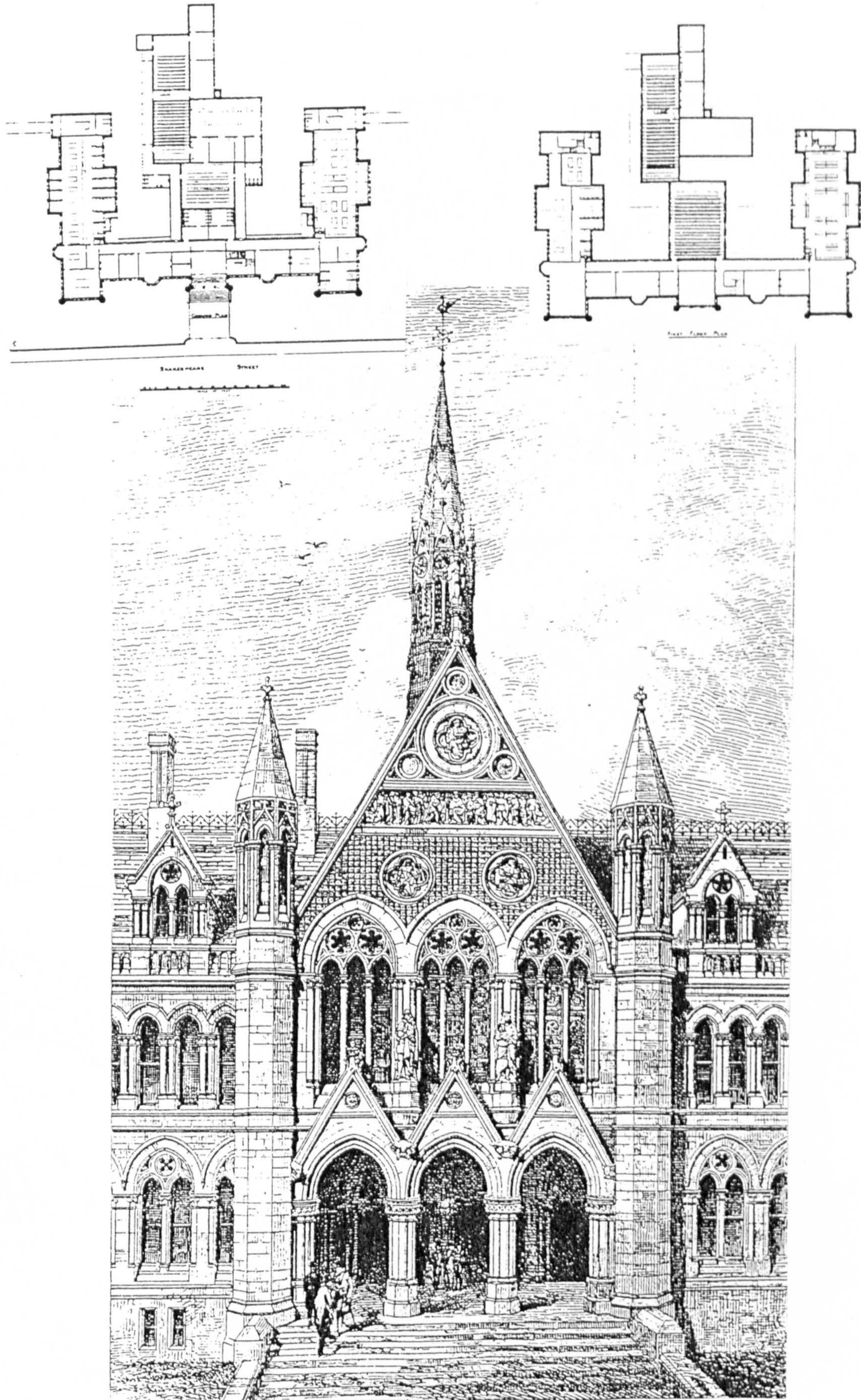


**The Airedale College** was a seminary for Nonconformist priests. Like the majority of their designs for educational buildings, the chosen style was Gothic with windows arranged to adequately light the rooms behind rather than to give a symmetrical facade. The principal's lodge was attached at right angles to the left.





**Nottingham University** was an elaborate Gothic design with fenestration and detailing based on the Bradford Town Hall model. The plan form was a hybrid of the early workhouse plans with the library and museum in end wings separated from the main teaching elements in a block behind the central entrance.





xcii

**The Merchant Taylors' School** (top) was a lavish design based on the usual T-plan and in a Gothic style. The end pavilions were treated differently to better suit the activities within them, and the tower showed a move towards the free-style Gothic forms of later in the century.

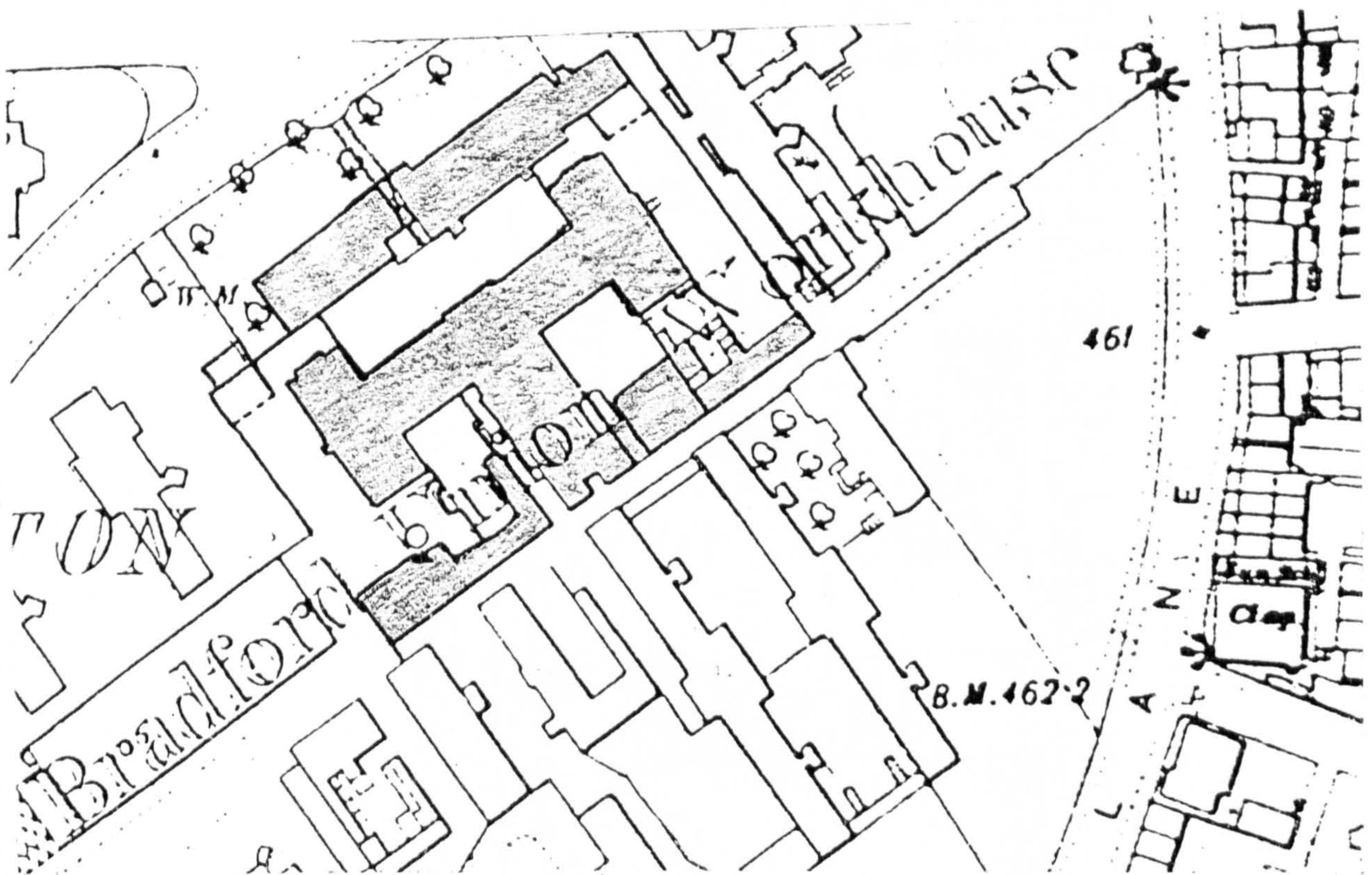
xciii

The earlier **Keighley Mechanics' Institute** (bottom) was in a more typical Franco-Italianate Gothic, but the plan form was exceptionally well composed to separate the Institute's rooms from the public lecture hall. Note the separate entrances and differences in fenestration and scale.





The **Bradford Union Workhouse** was the first such building designed by the firm in the Italianate style. The plan was based on those developed by Lockwood earlier in his career with a front entrance and office range linked to a casual ward, and a T-shaped main building behind.



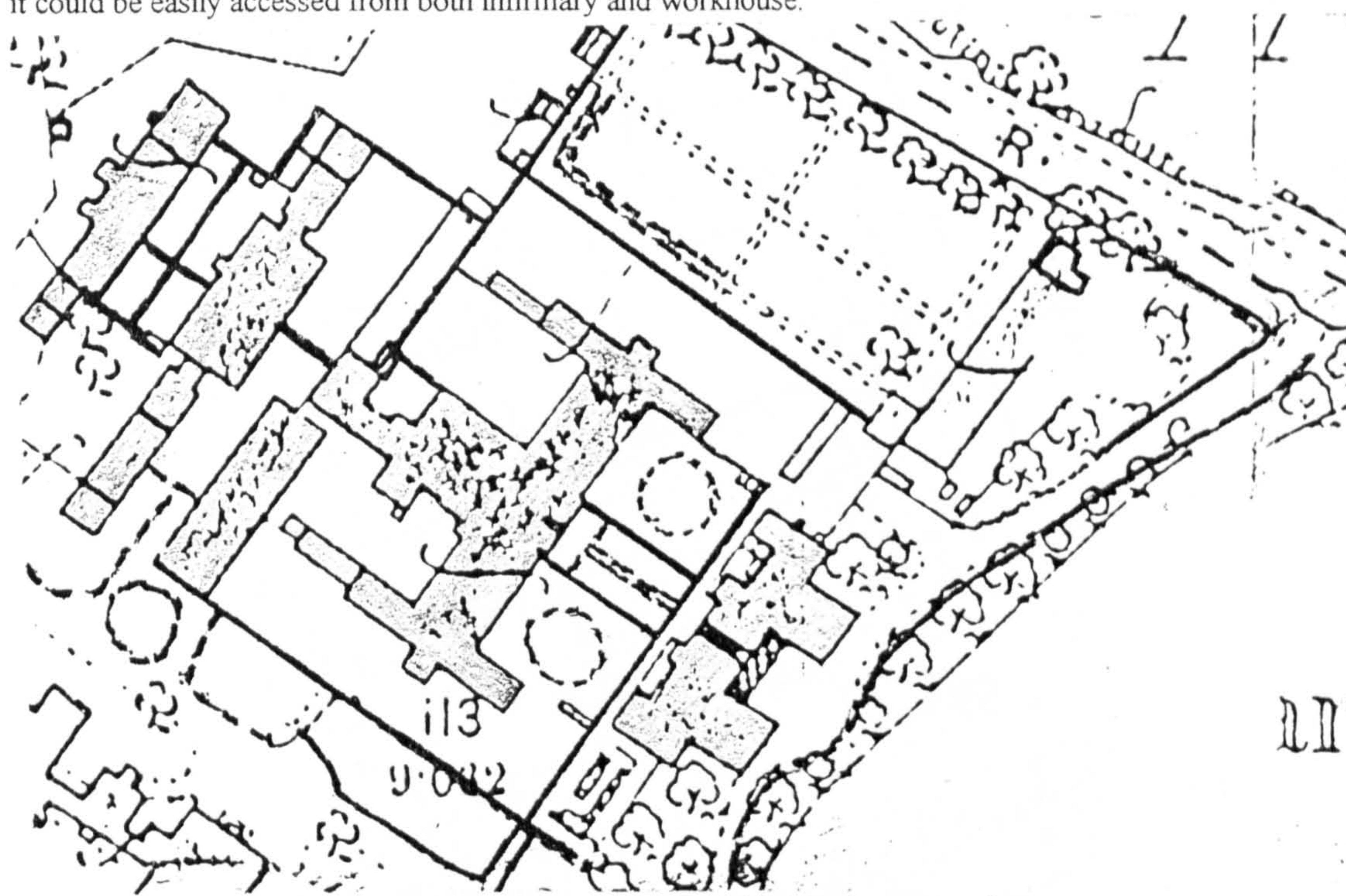


xcv

The **Barnsley Union Workhouse** (top) was a further variation on the tried and tested plan and was virtually contemporary with the Bradford Union design.

xcvi

The **Hull Union Workhouse** (bottom) was again virtually contemporary and almost identical to the Bradford and Barnsley designs. The long, narrow plot meant that a separate infirmary was built parallel with and behind the main building. The chapel was unusually right at the foot of the 'T' possibly so that it could be easily accessed from both infirmary and workhouse.



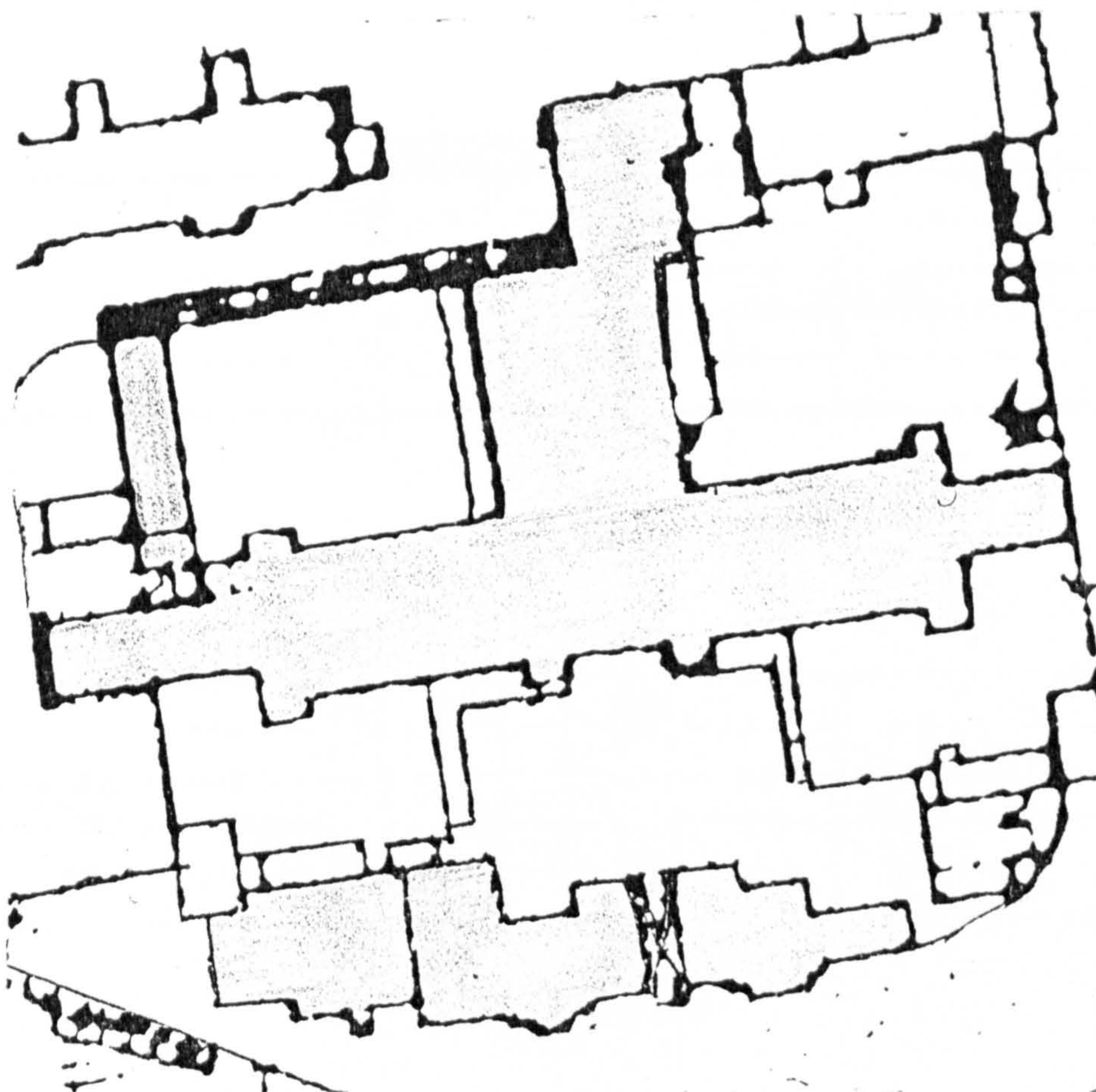
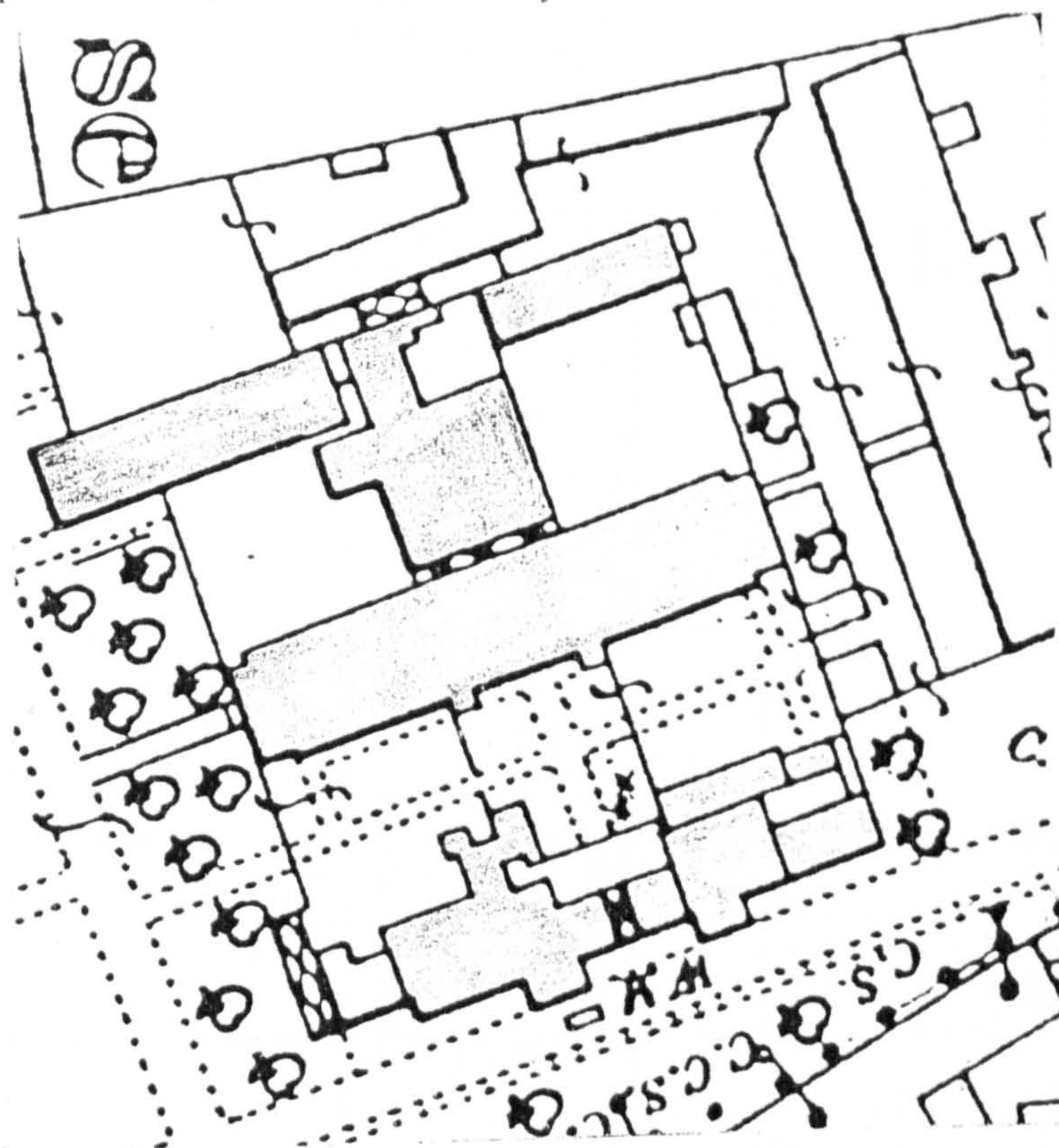
111





xcvii The workhouse for the **Dewsbury Union** (top) was again based on the well-tried plan form. An infirmary may have been in the small building at the rear, whilst the block at right angles could have been the industrial school.

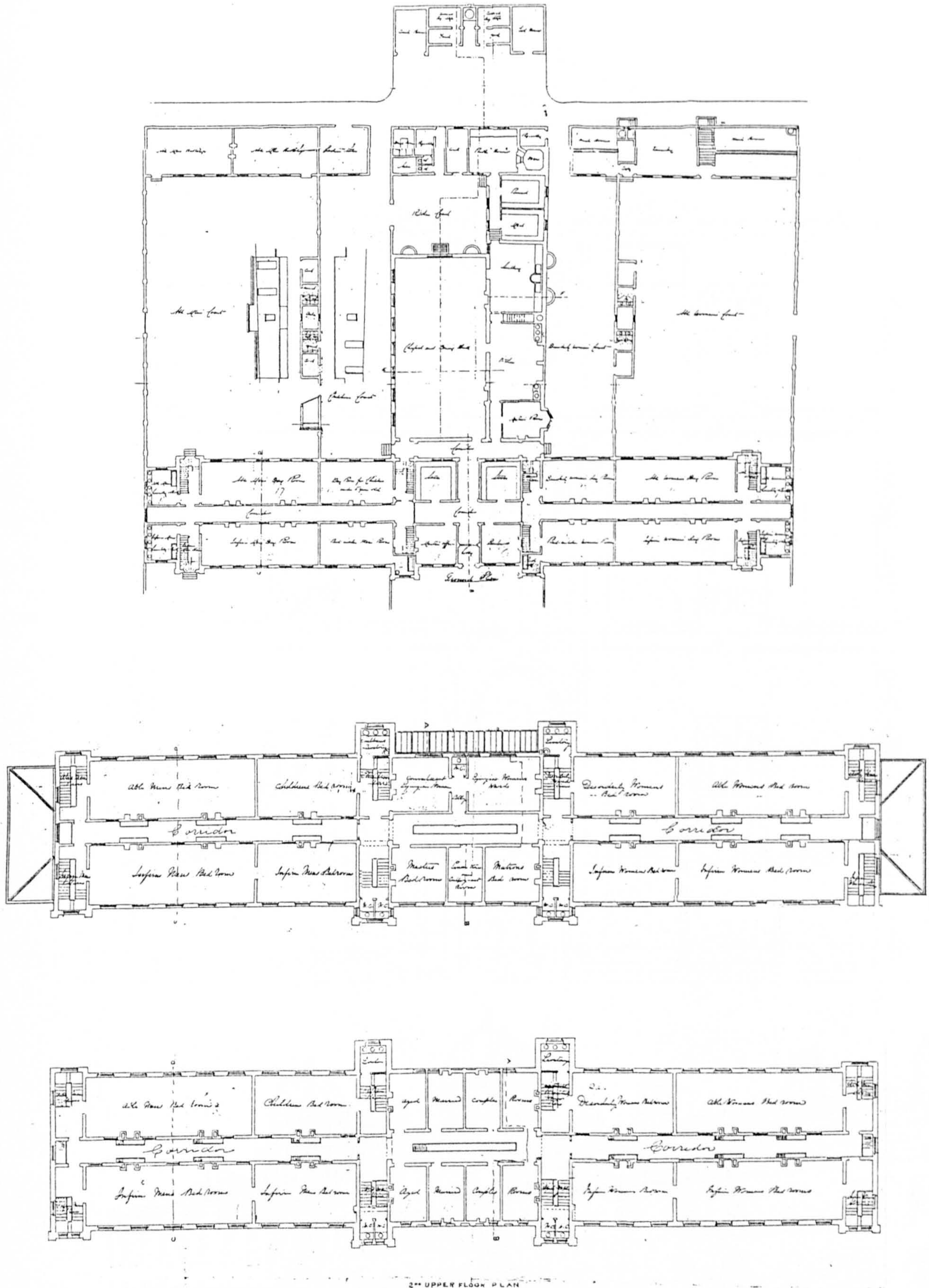
xcviii **The North Bierley Union Workhouse (bottom)**, although much larger than that at Dewsbury, was based on a similar plan and was in the usual Italianate style.





ic

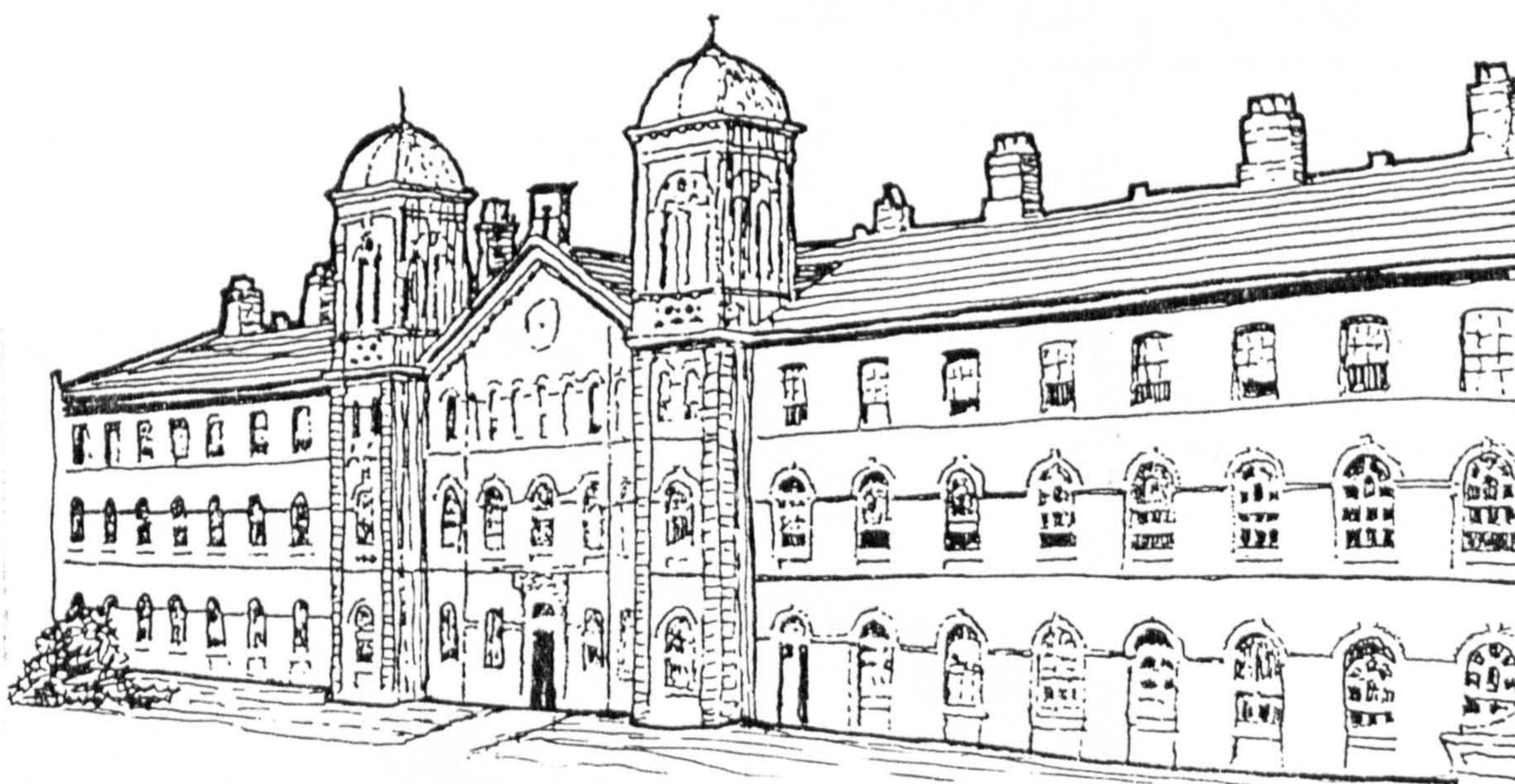
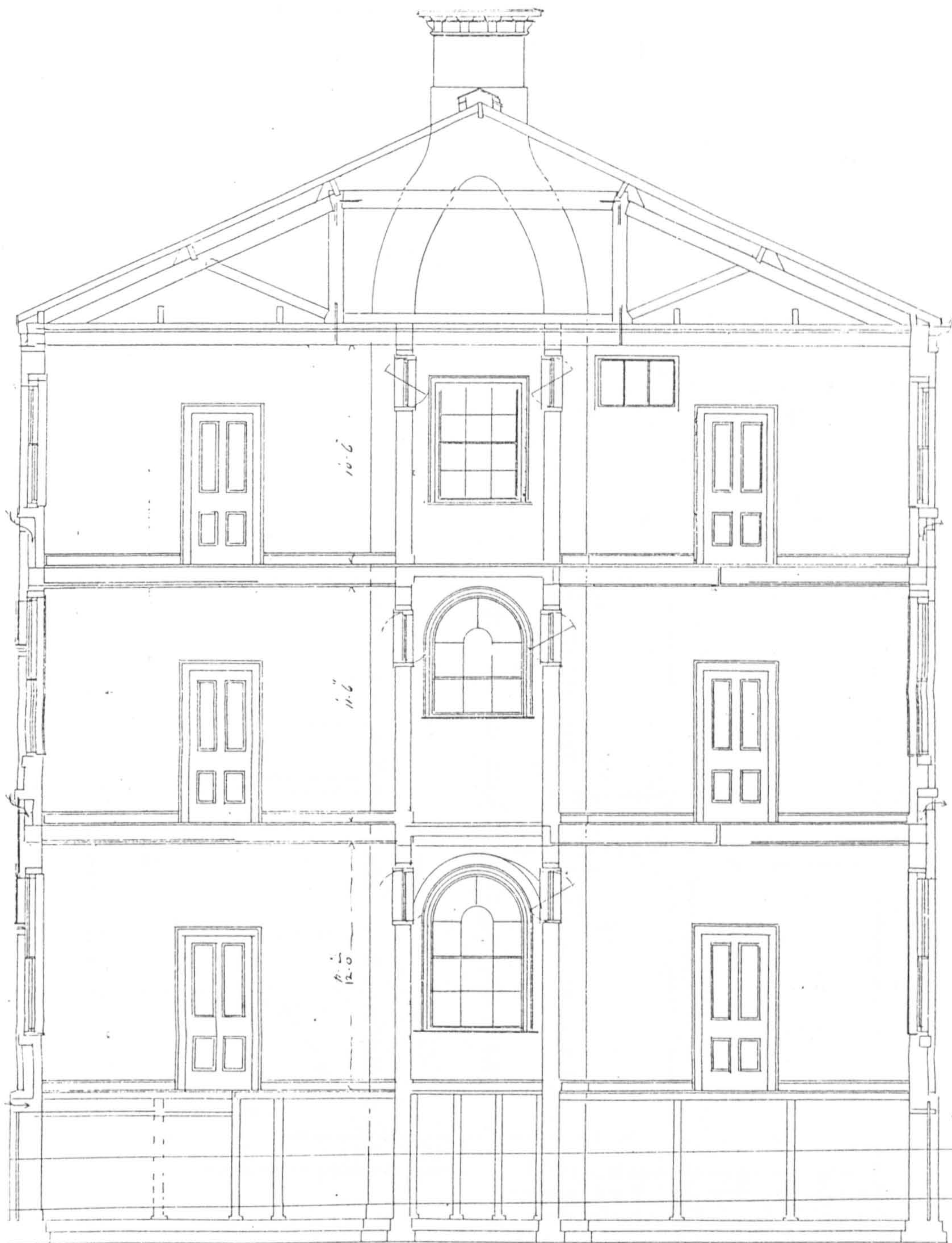
The surviving plans of the **Carlisle Union Workhouse** show the guiding principle of workhouse design was to keep apart the different classes of inmate. This necessitated considerable skill on the part of the architects to ensure that the routes between day and bedrooms and toilet facilities were well segregated.





c

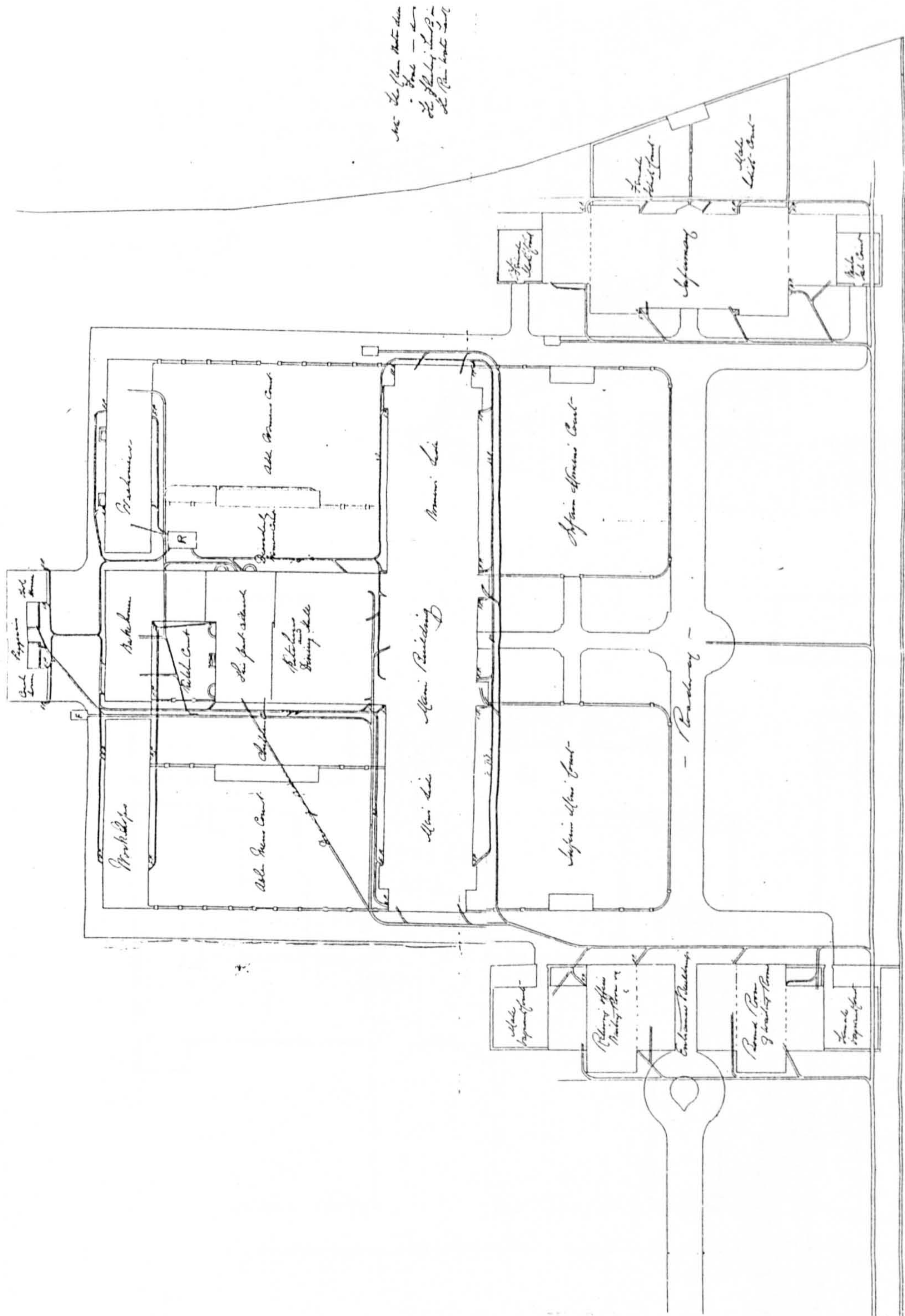
The section through the **Carlisle Workhouse** shows how important light and through-ventilation were to the Union Boards and so the tilting corridor windows were a key element of the design. The elevation shows the growing influence of Venetian and French Gothic on the practice's designs after 1864.





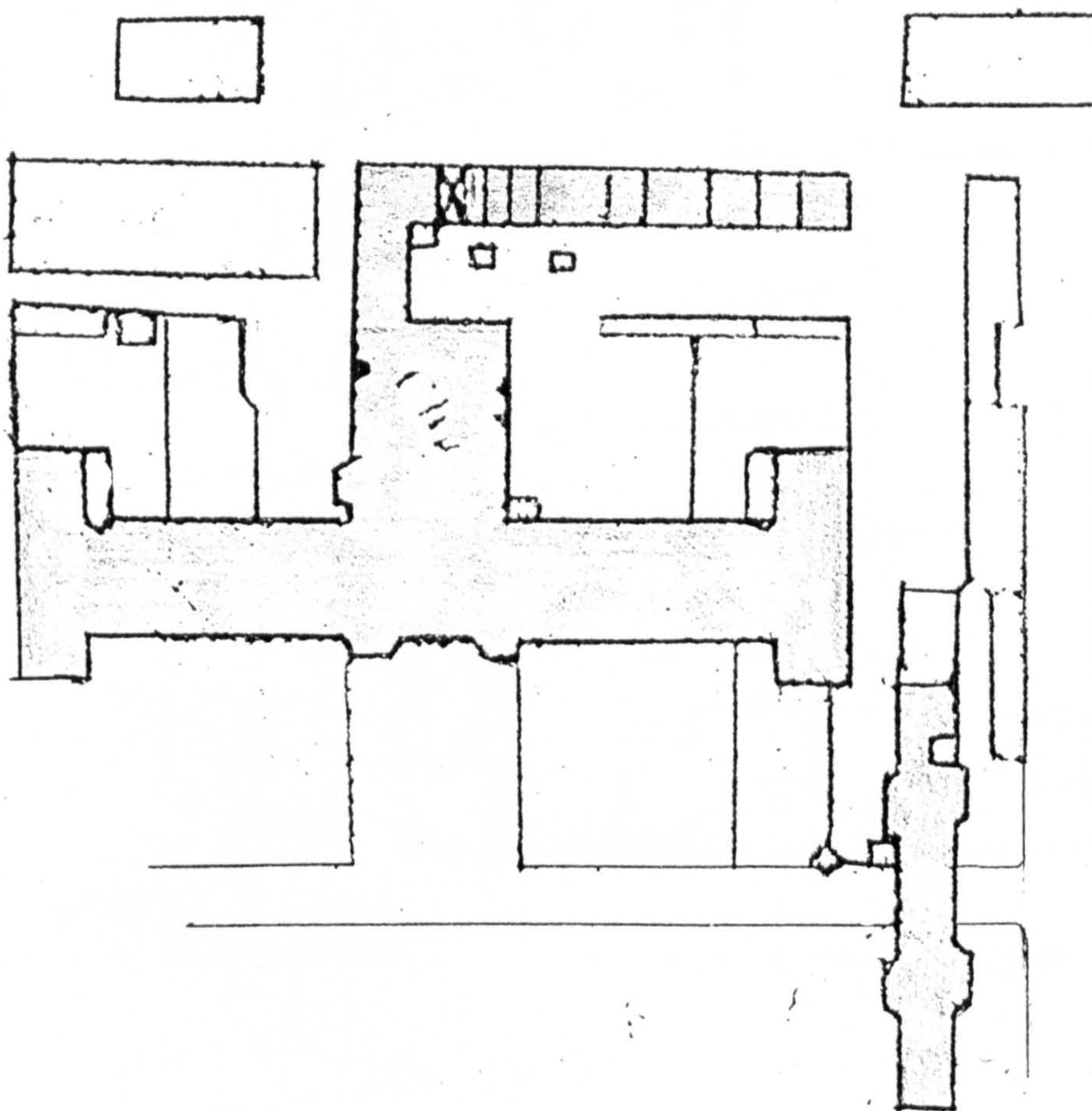
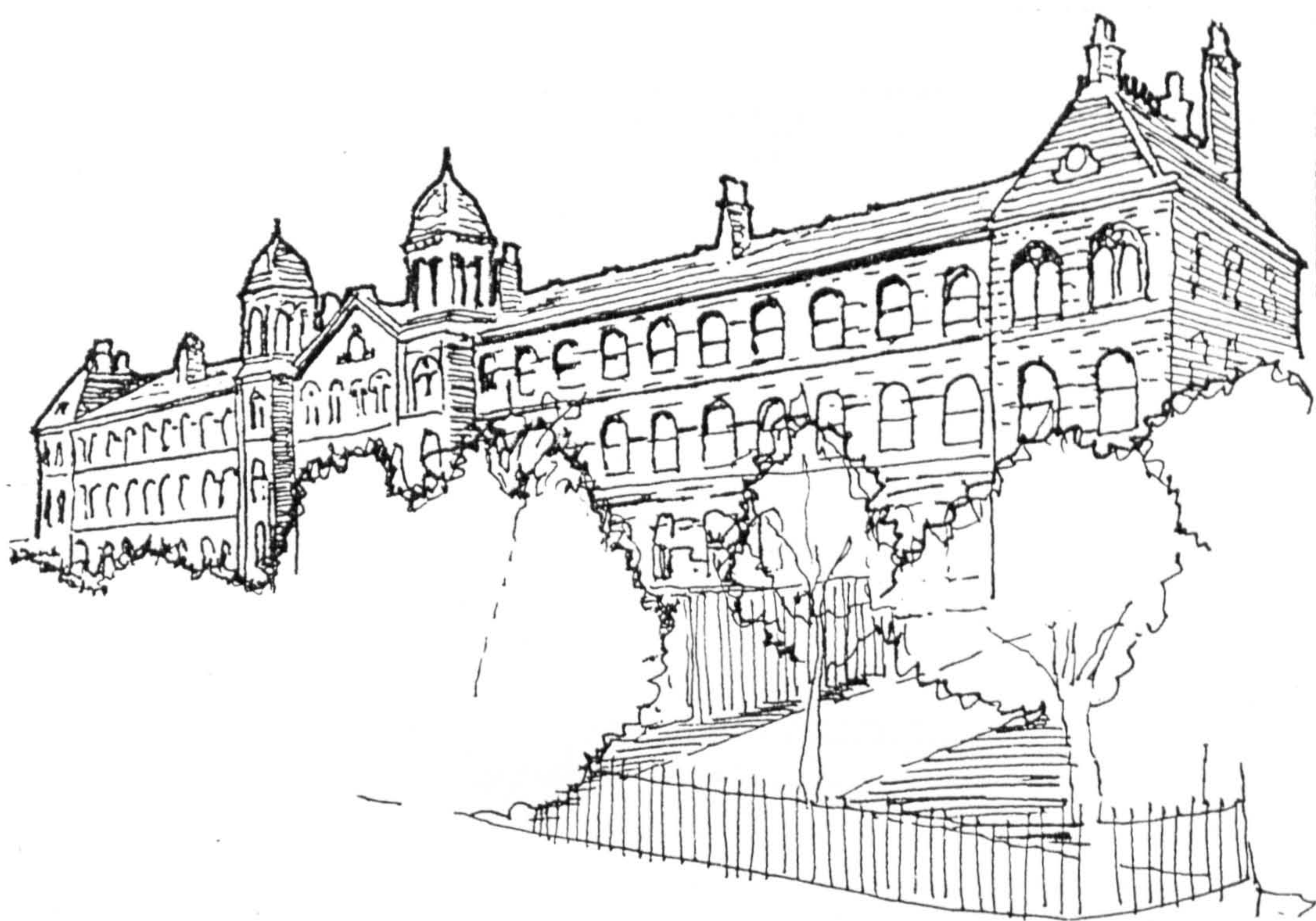
ci

The site plan of the **Carlisle Workhouse** shows the arrangement of the entrance lodge at right angles to the main workhouse building with an infirmary opposite enclosing the third side of the main court. This was in contrast to the normal workhouse plan which the architects had developed, where the main range stood directly behind the entrance buildings.



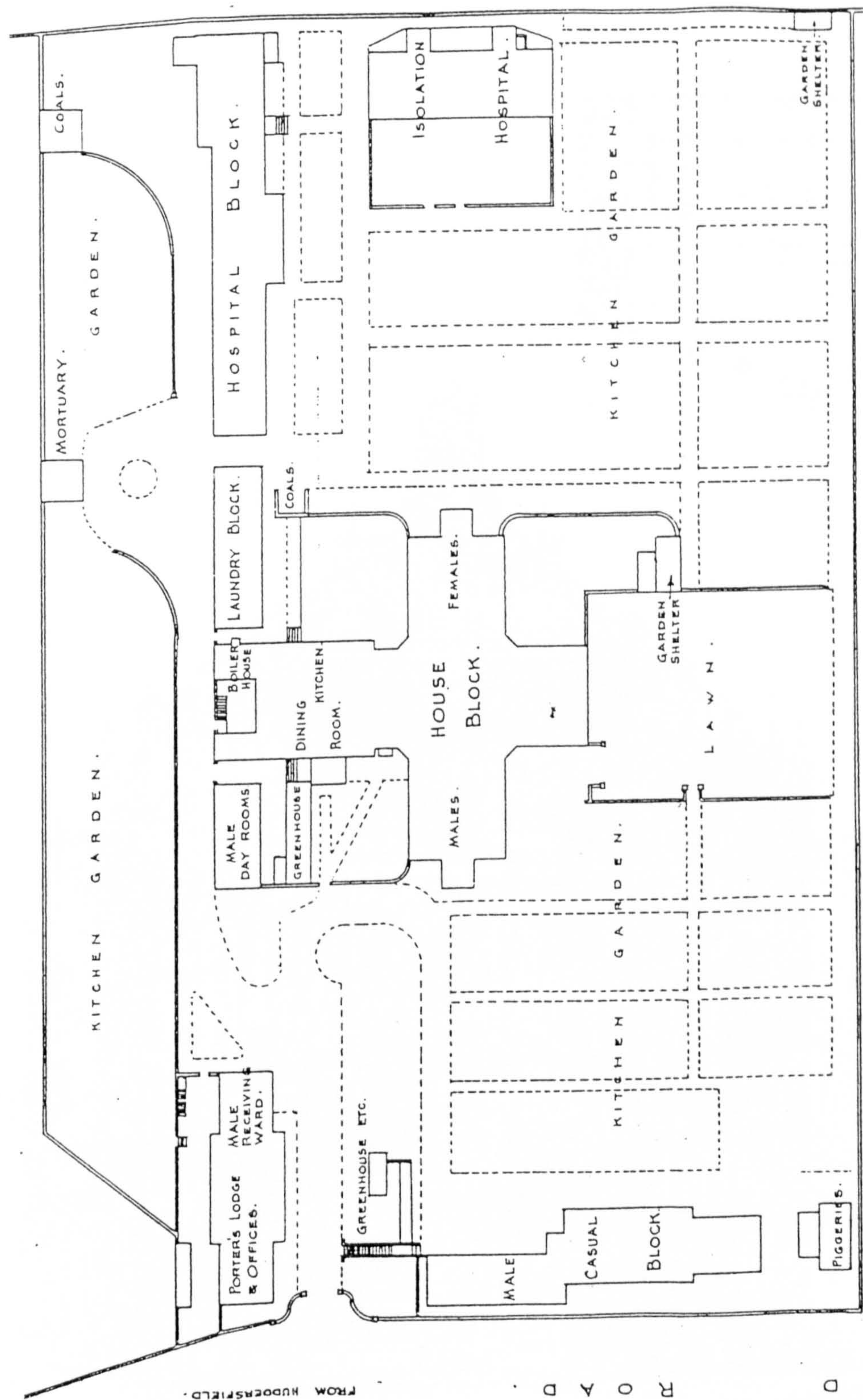


The architectural style of the **Haslingden Workhouse** was a mixture of Italianate and French Gothic detailing. The Venetian Gothic windows were typical of the architects' designs after 1864, whilst the French pavilion roofs were commonly used in the late 1860s. The gatehouse positioned at right angles to the main range was similar to the Carlisle arrangement.



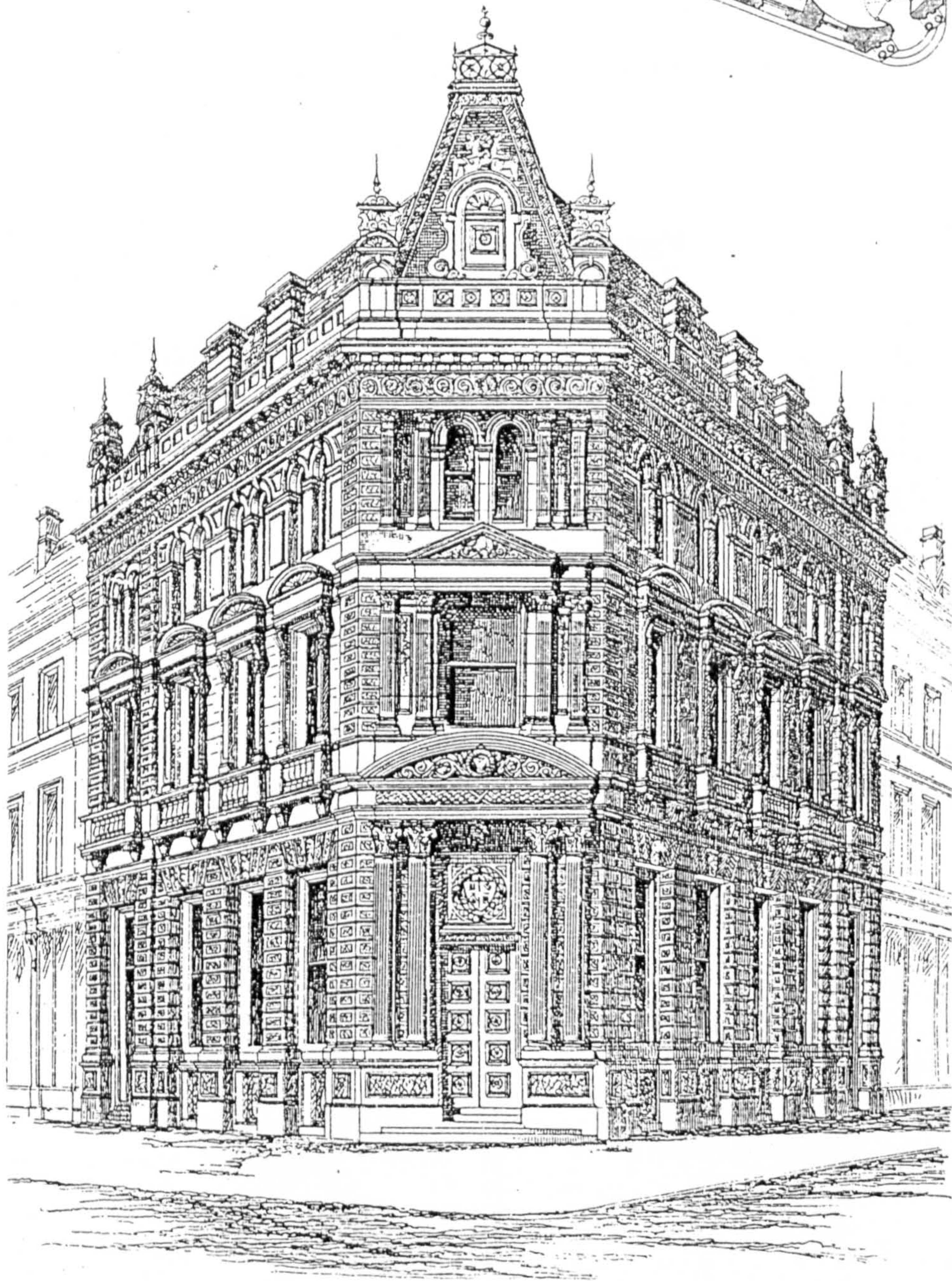
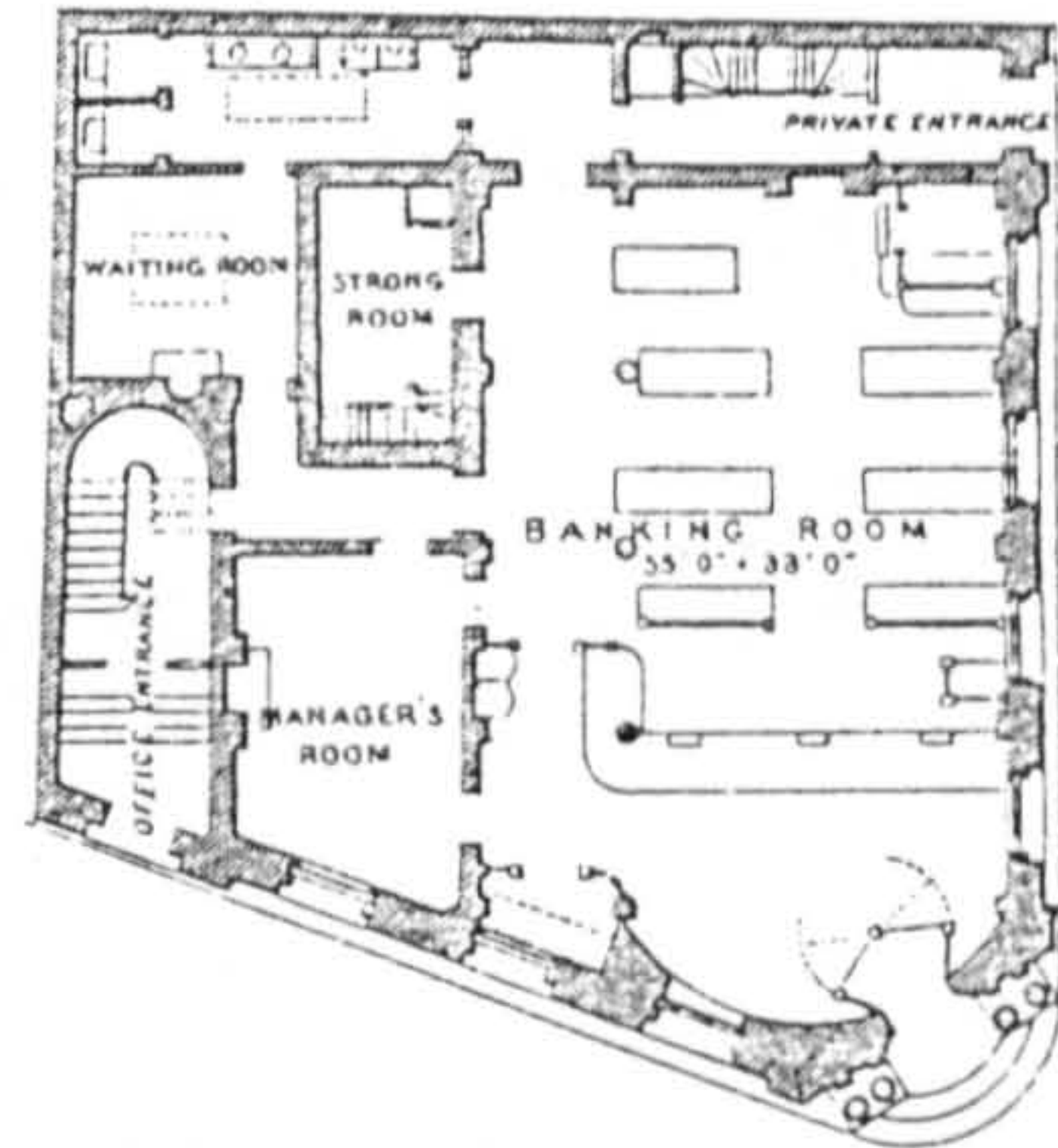


The plan form of the **Penistone Workhouse** was entirely different to the arrangement normally adopted by the architects in the design of such buildings. This was a very small institution, and it is probable that Lockwood and Mawson felt that the normal plan form would be unsuitable and costly. They therefore adapted the plans of Sampson Kempthorn, developed in the 1830s, and arranged the building on a cruciform plan.





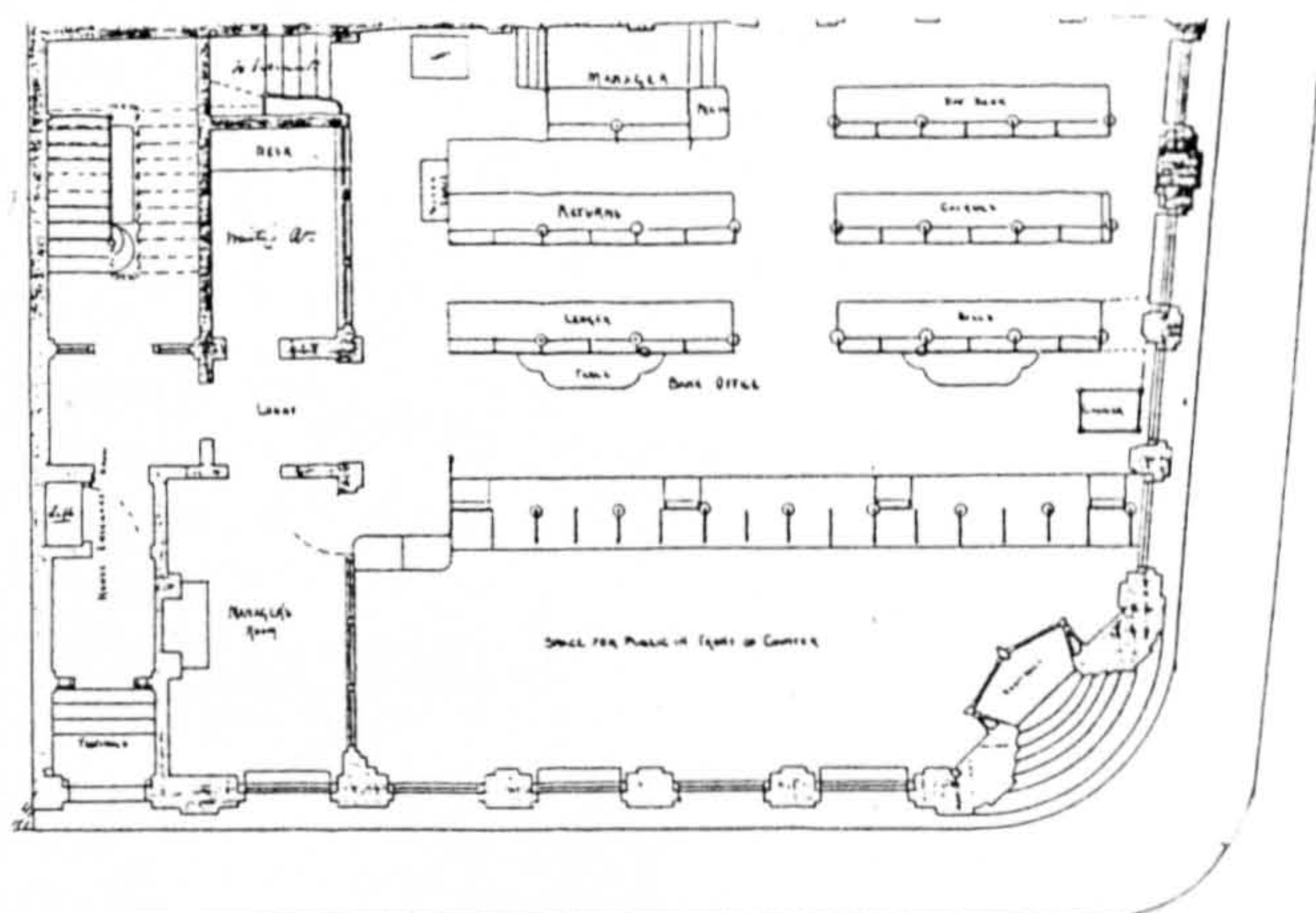
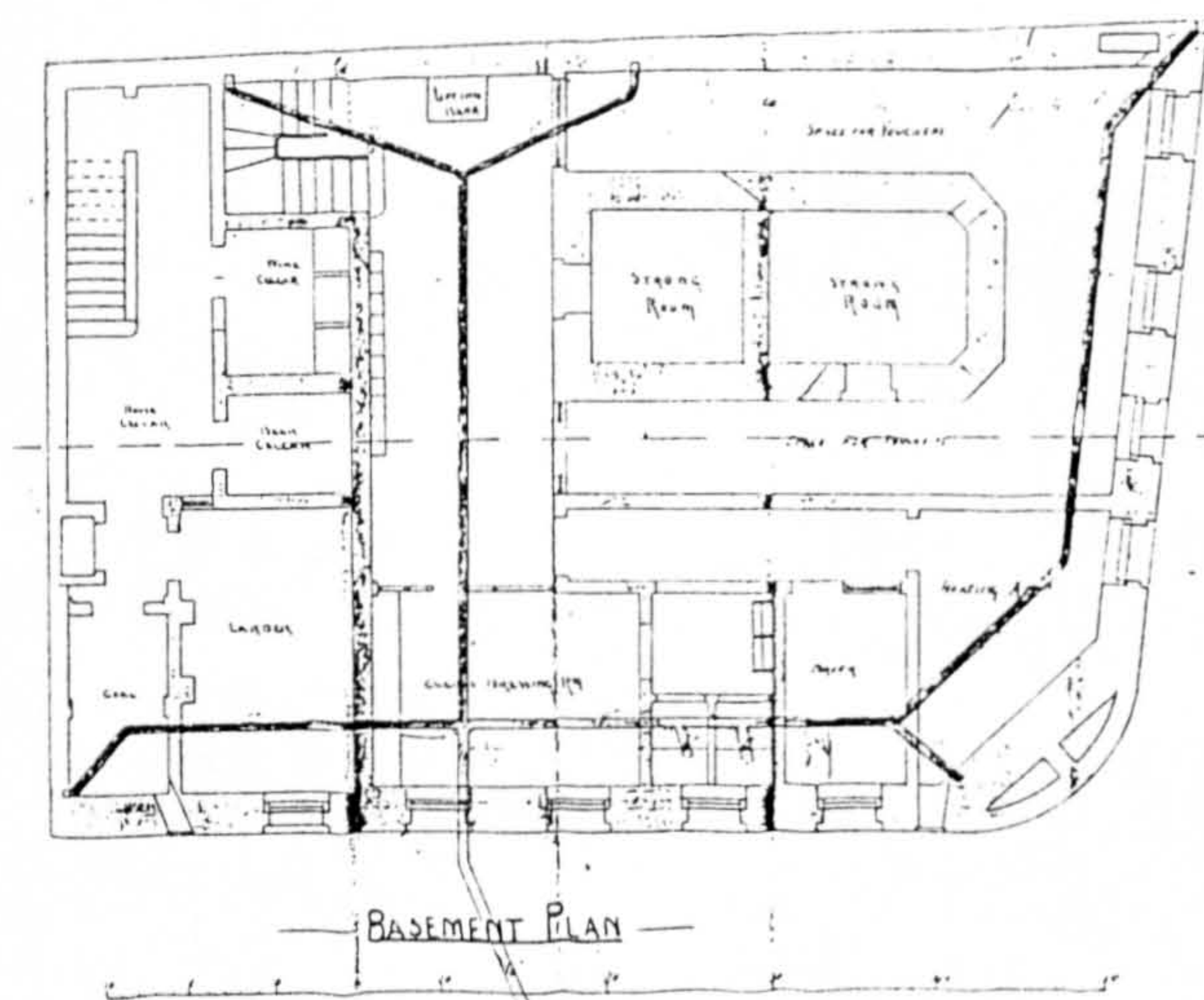
**The Yorkshire Banking Co. Bradford** was a lavish mixture of Italianate and French detailing. The style and focus of decoration onto the canted corner showed the similarities with warehouse buildings. The plan form was, as usual, well thought out and convenient for customers and workers.



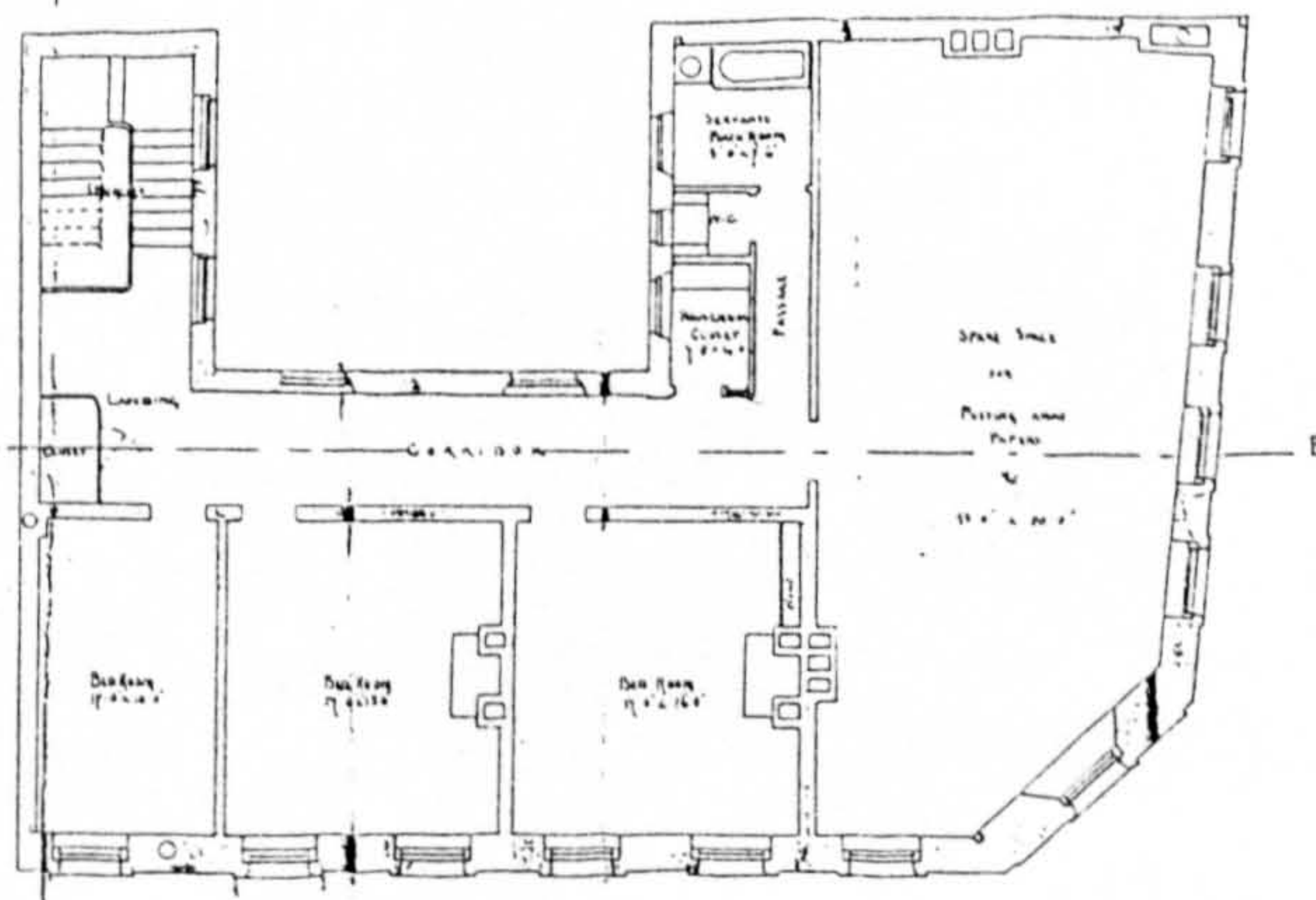
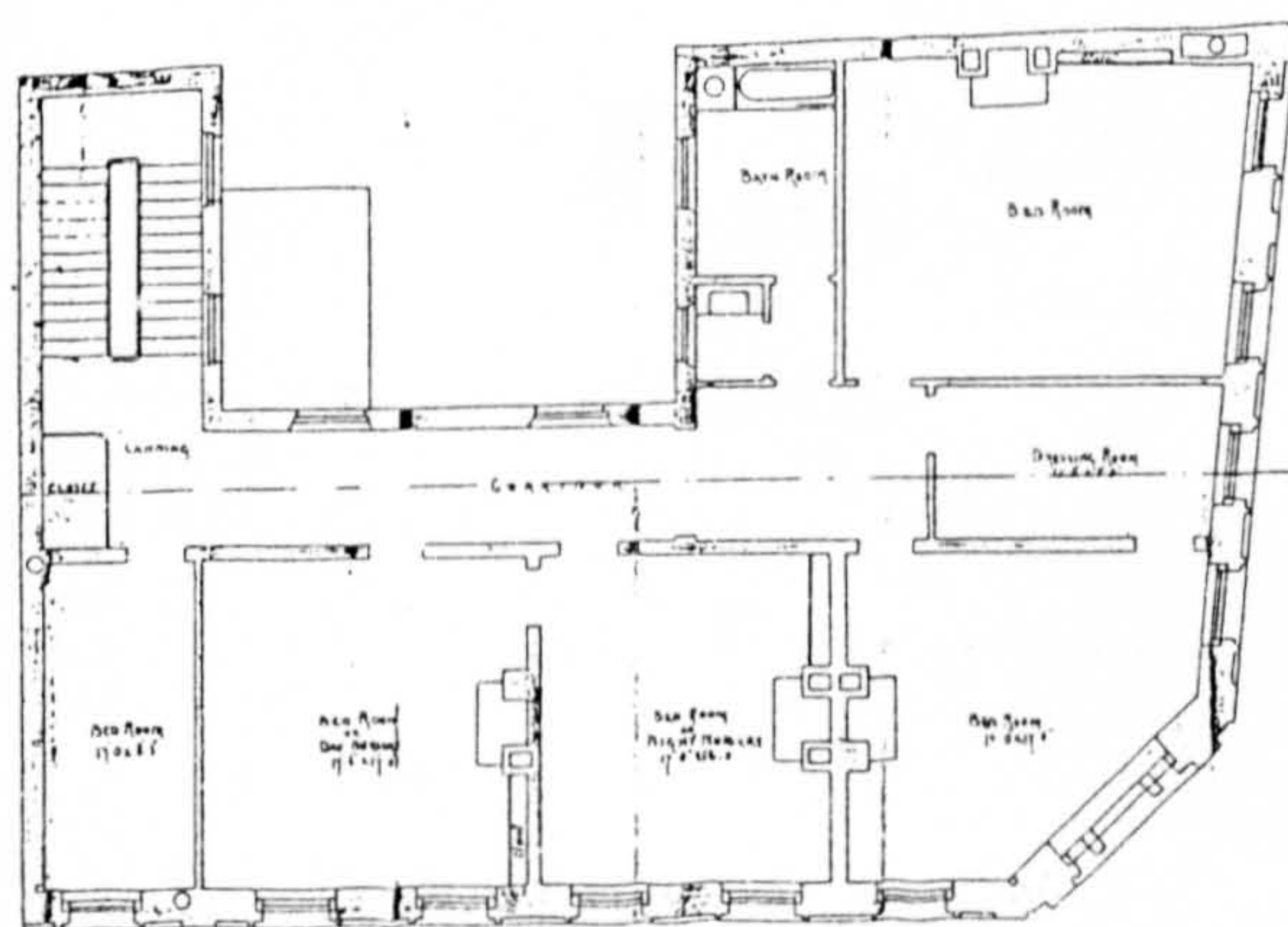
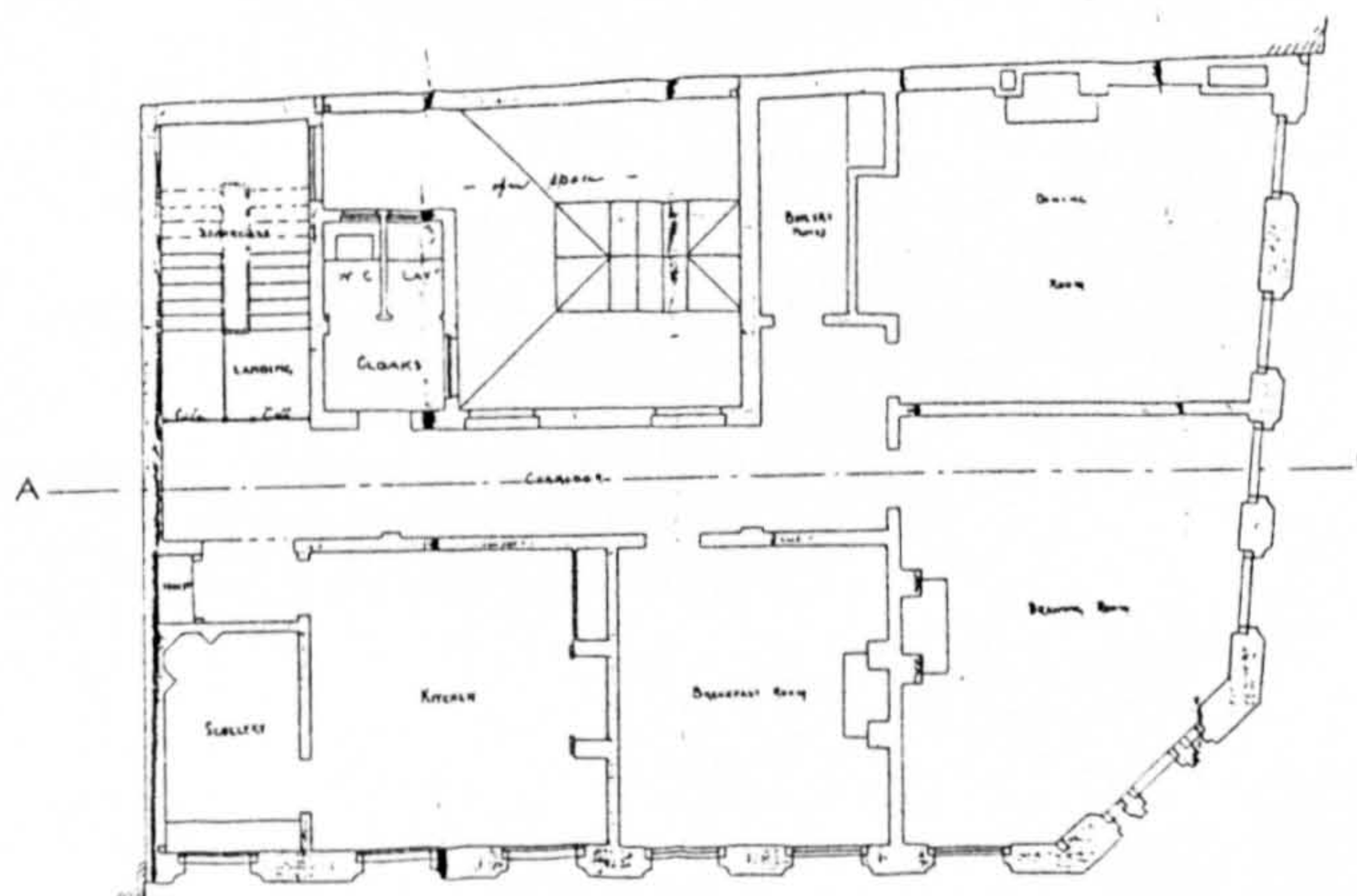


CV

The plan form of the **Yorkshire Banking Co. Whitefriargate, Hull**, was similar to that of the Bradford branch with separate entrances for the public and manager. The strong room was placed in the basement and a light well top-lit the space occupied by the clerks.

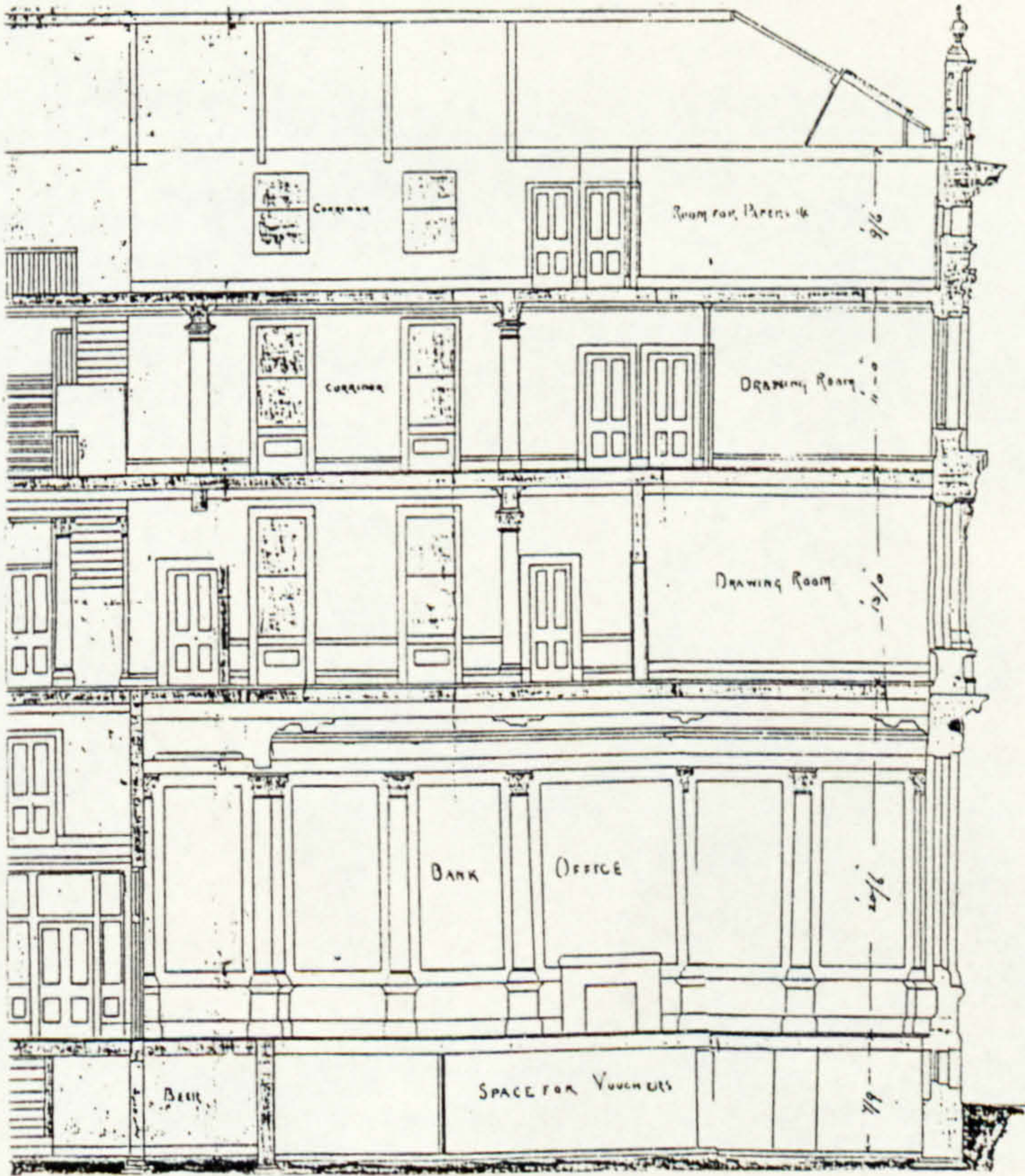


Rockwood - The author's time  
 May 1875





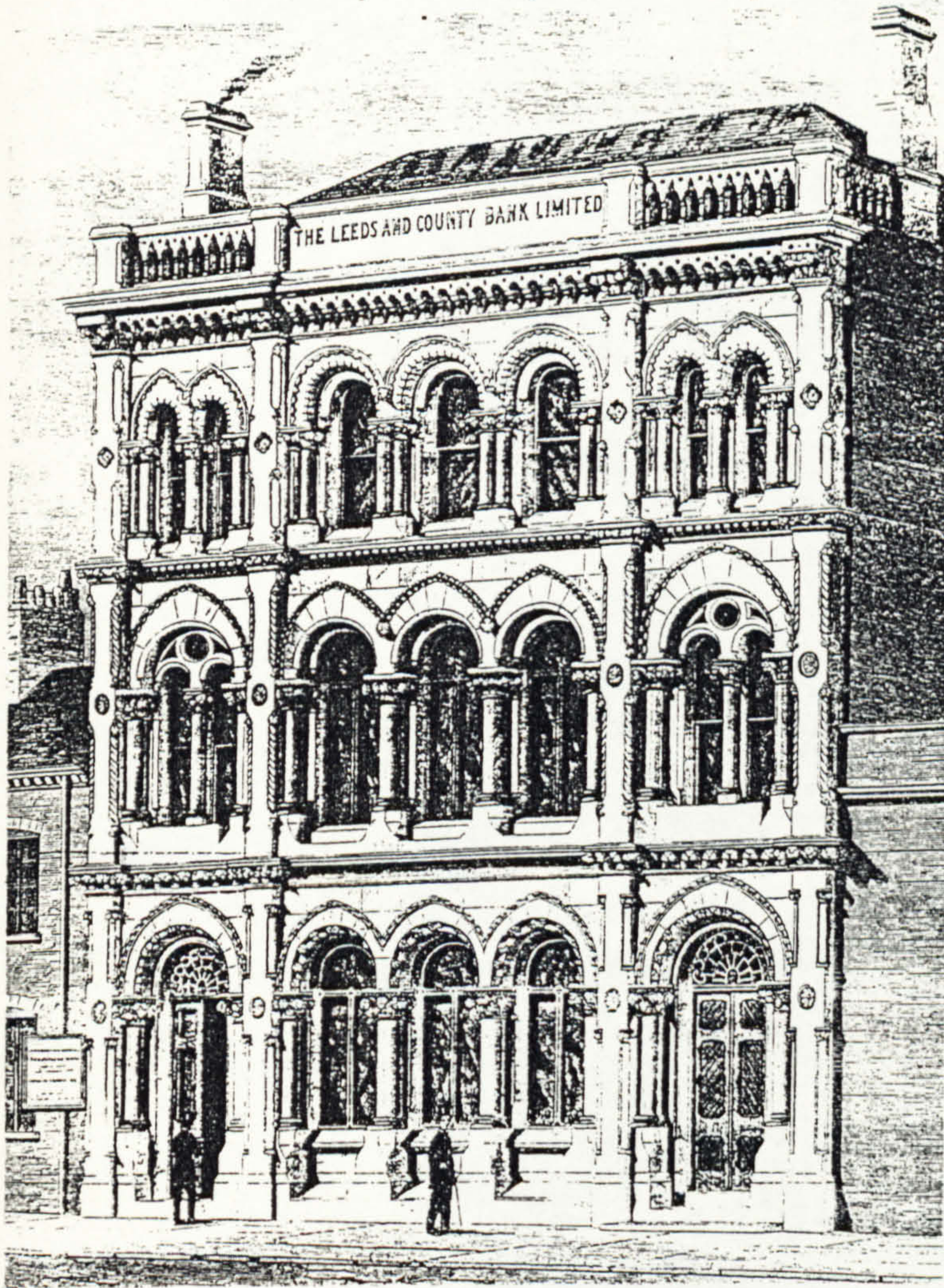
The Yorkshire Banking Co. Hull was in similar style to the Bradford branch. The banking hall was lavishly decorated whilst the manager's accommodation was extensive occupying two storeys.





cvii **The Leeds and County Bank in Leeds (top)** was built in 1864 and was extremely ornate with much use of Italian Gothic detailing.

cviii **The Stamford, Spalding and Boston Bank in Boston (bottom)** was also in the Gothic style but was as plain as the Leeds Bank was lavish. The subdued English Gothic style was presumably chosen to fit comfortably with the impressive St Botolph's church next door.





cix

**The Liberal Club** in Bradford was part of a large-scale commercial development. The club occupied the upper floors with only the entrance at ground floor in the centre of the first block. The commercial premises on the basement and ground floors financed the building of the club.

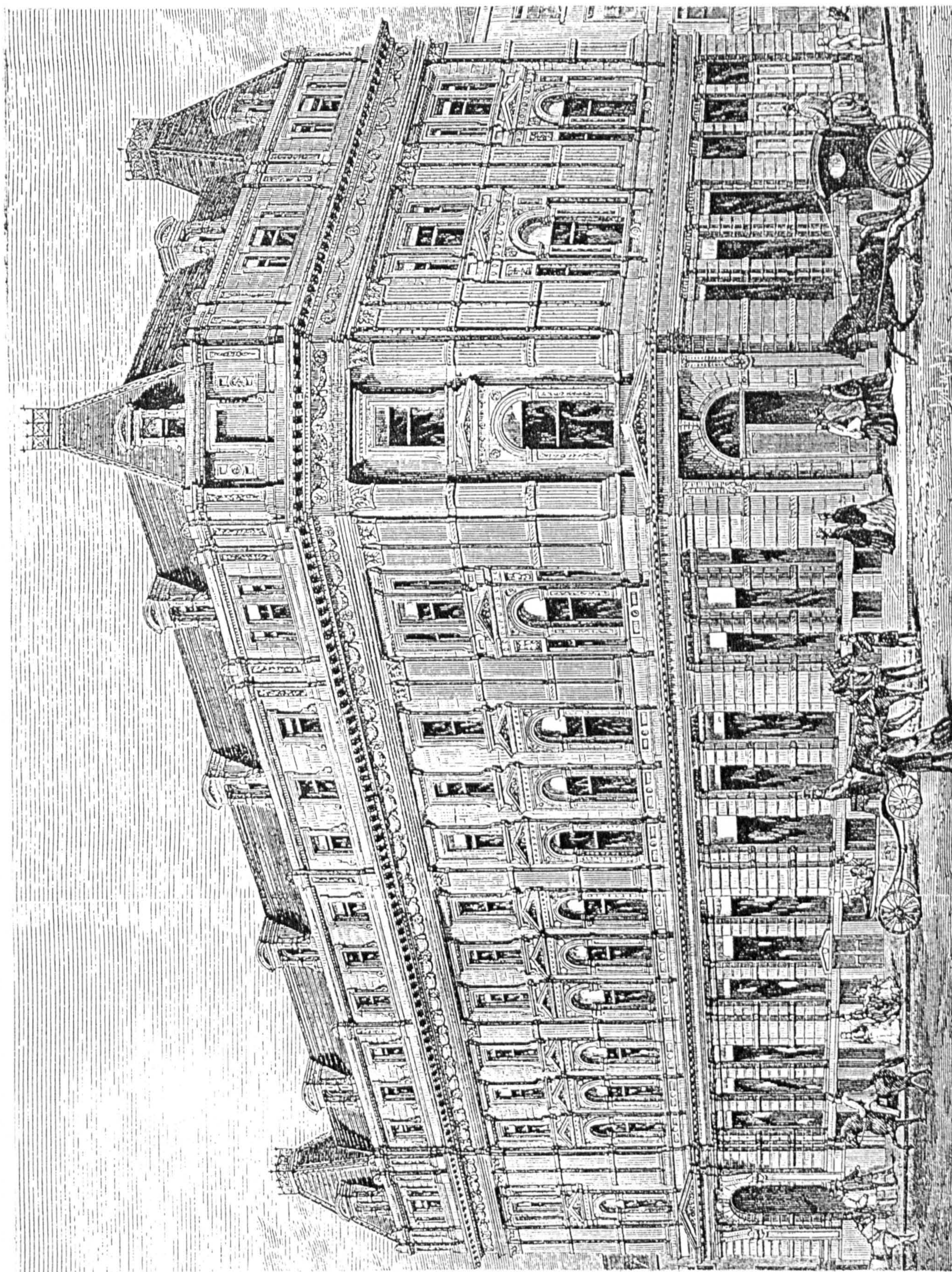
cx

The earlier **Bradford Club** was in the Gothic style developed in the design of the Wool Exchange. The Venetian Gothic and pointed arched windows became popular motifs on several of the practice's buildings of the 1860s.



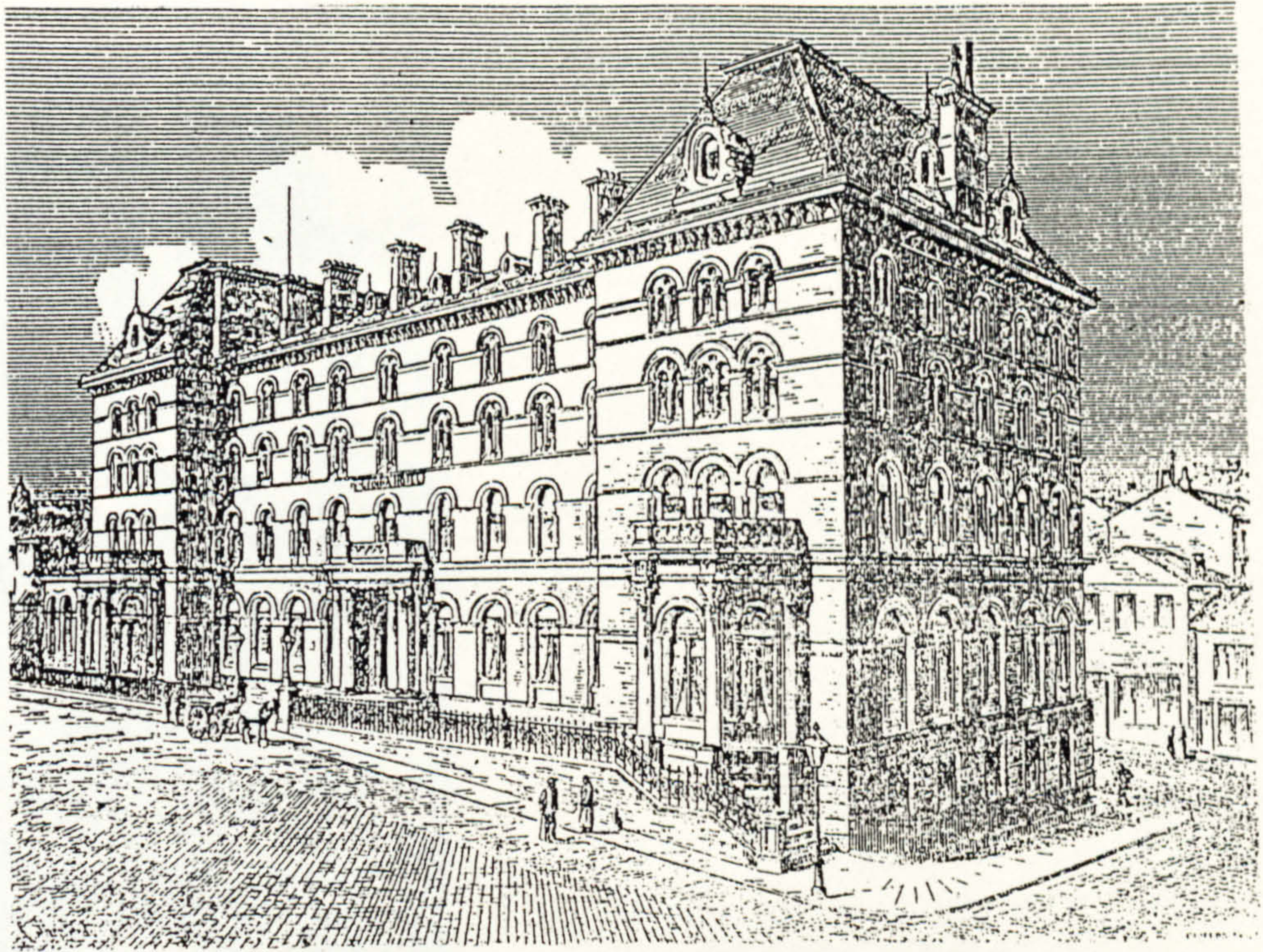


The Civil Service Supply Association Buildings in London's Covent Garden was in the customary Franco-Italianate style favoured by the architects for commercial buildings. The detailing was well executed with much use of terracotta, a material not commonly used by Lockwood and Mawson.



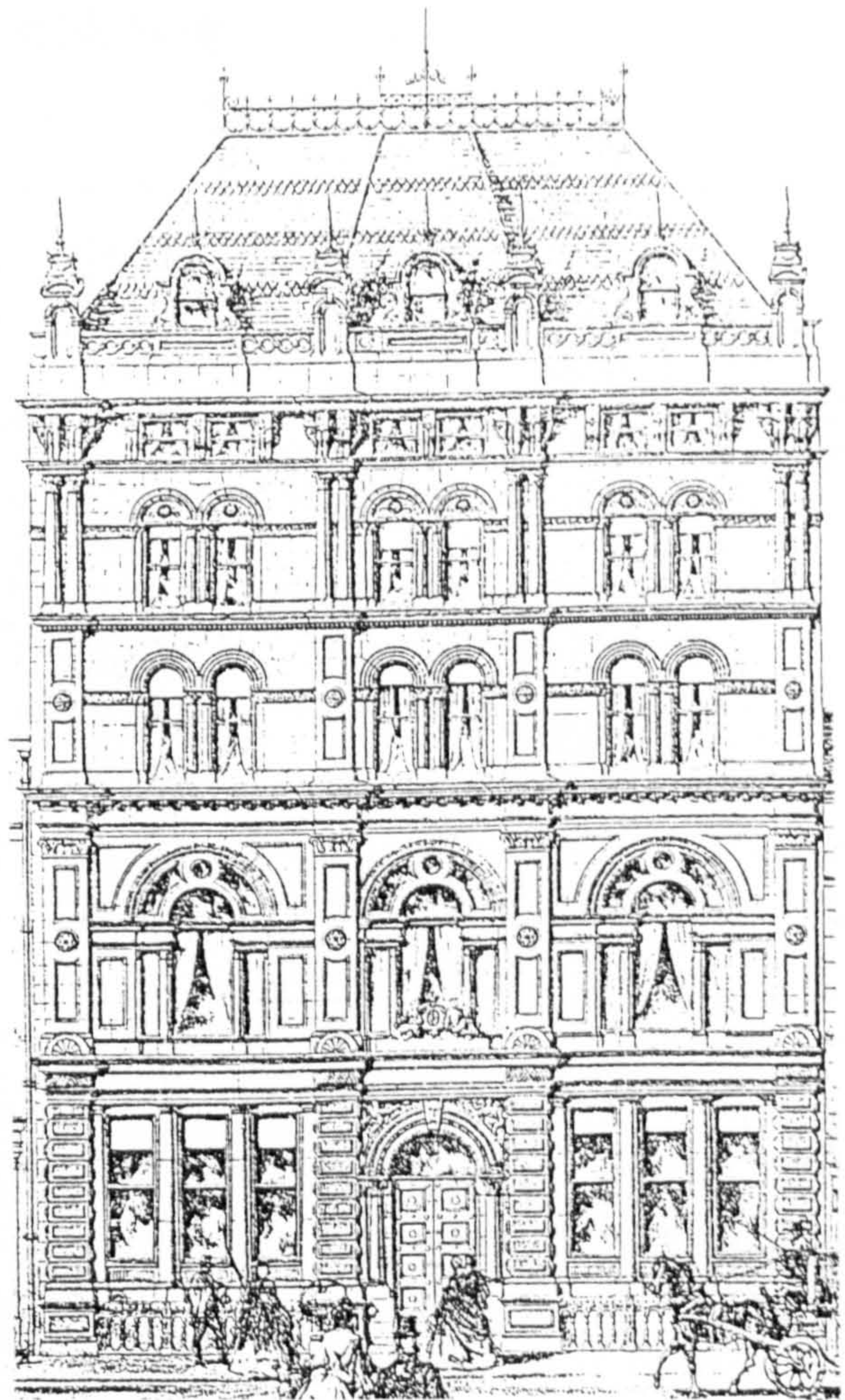


**The Victoria Hotel** was Bradford's first railway hotel. It had *trecento* Italianate detailing, but the outline of the building was like a French chateau. The French style was particularly popular for hotels nationally. The interior arrangements were, as usual, highly convenient with a central stairwell and corridors running either side. The principal rooms were located off the lavish ground floor corridors.



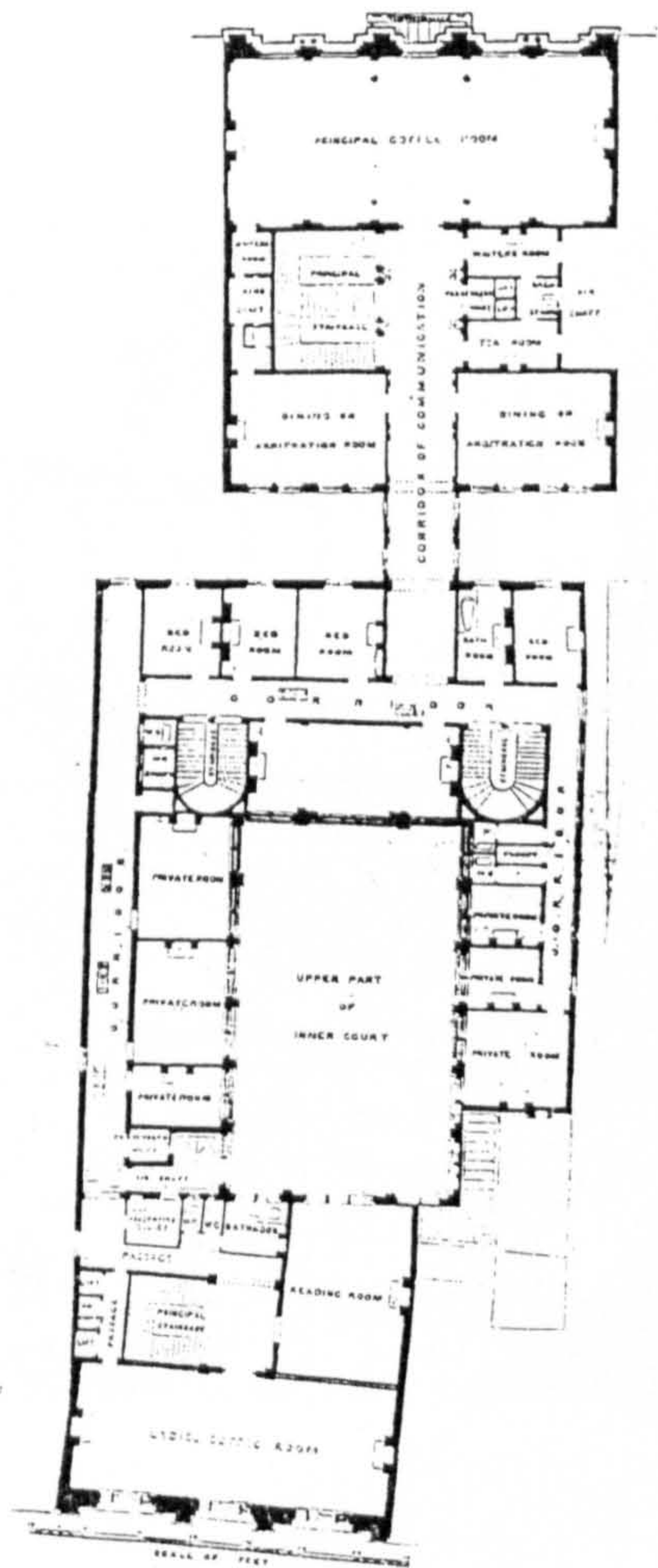
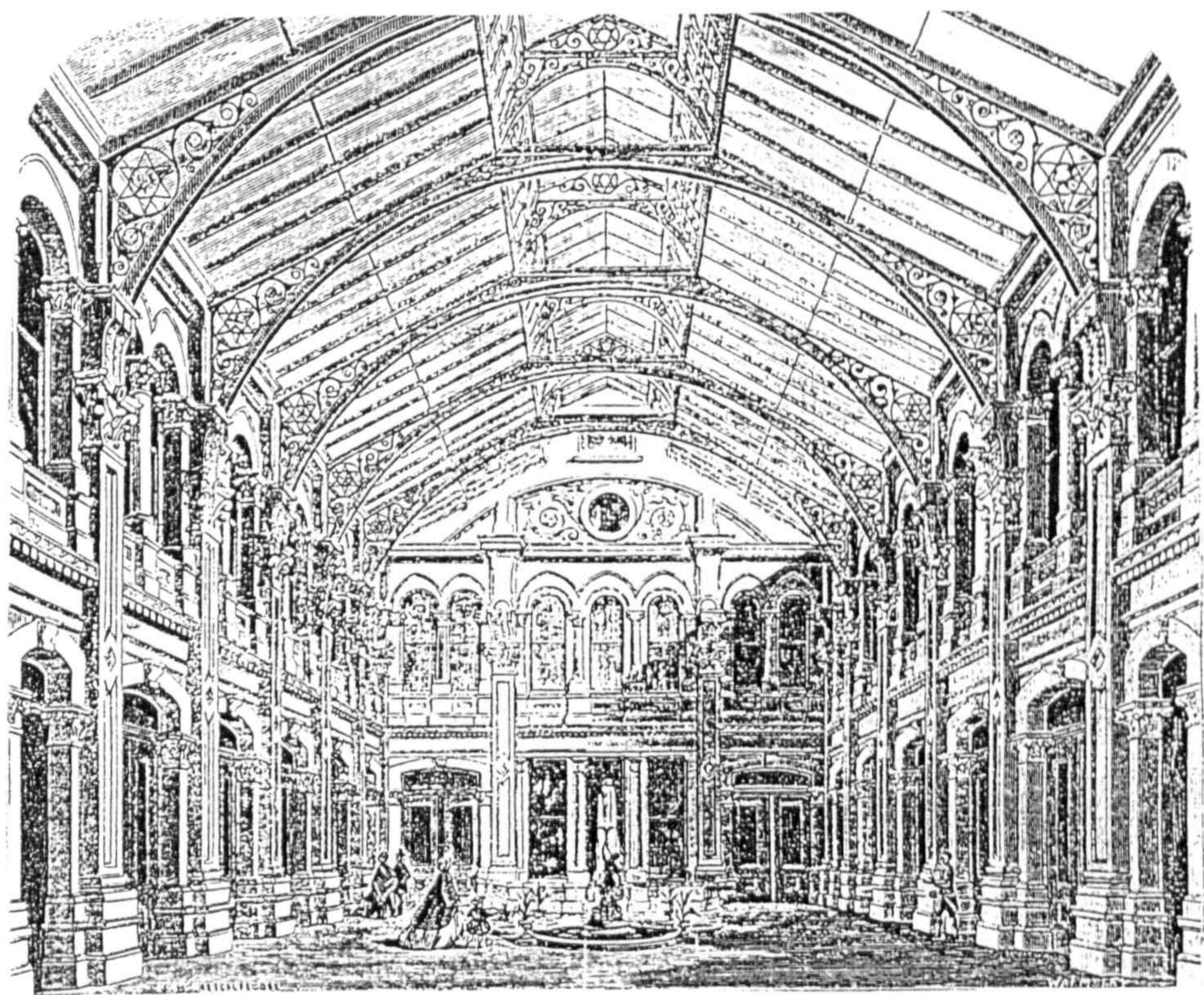


**The Inns of Court Hotel** in Holborn, London was also strongly influenced by French architecture. The building, which cost over £135,000 to build, had frontages to both Lincoln's Inn (top) and Holborn (bottom). Both facades had a mixture of Italianate and French detailing and were highly ornate.





A feature of the **Inns of Court Hotel** was an inner court top-lit and with plants and fountains. The plan shows the extensive facilities which were provided and the awkwardness of the site which had a thoroughfare running across the site.



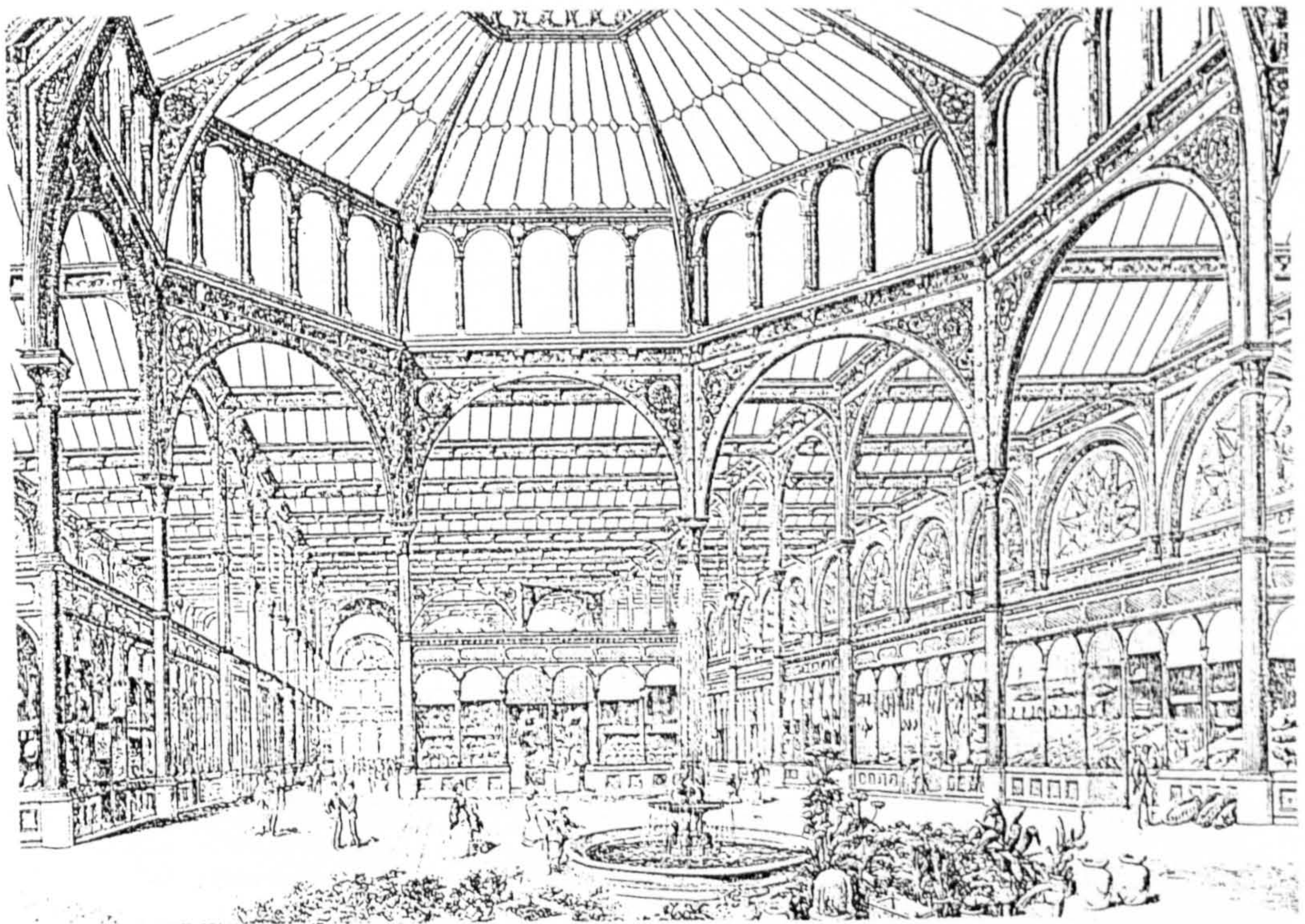


cxv

**The Kirkgate Market** was in the Franco-Italianate style of many of Lockwood and Mawson's buildings in Bradford. It was extremely well detailed with an impressive entrance portal with figures of Flora and Pomona carved in the spandrels by William Day Keyworth.

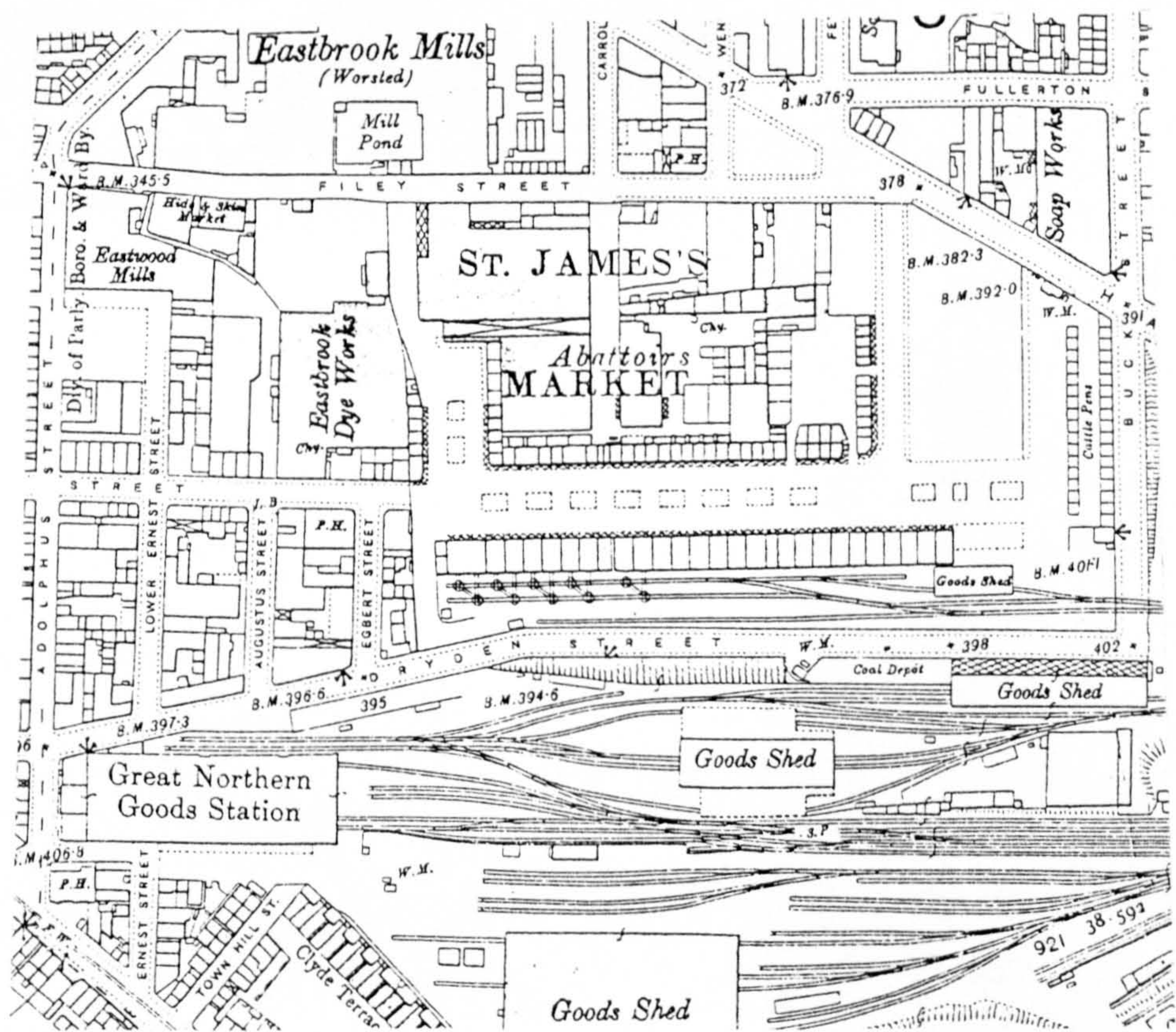
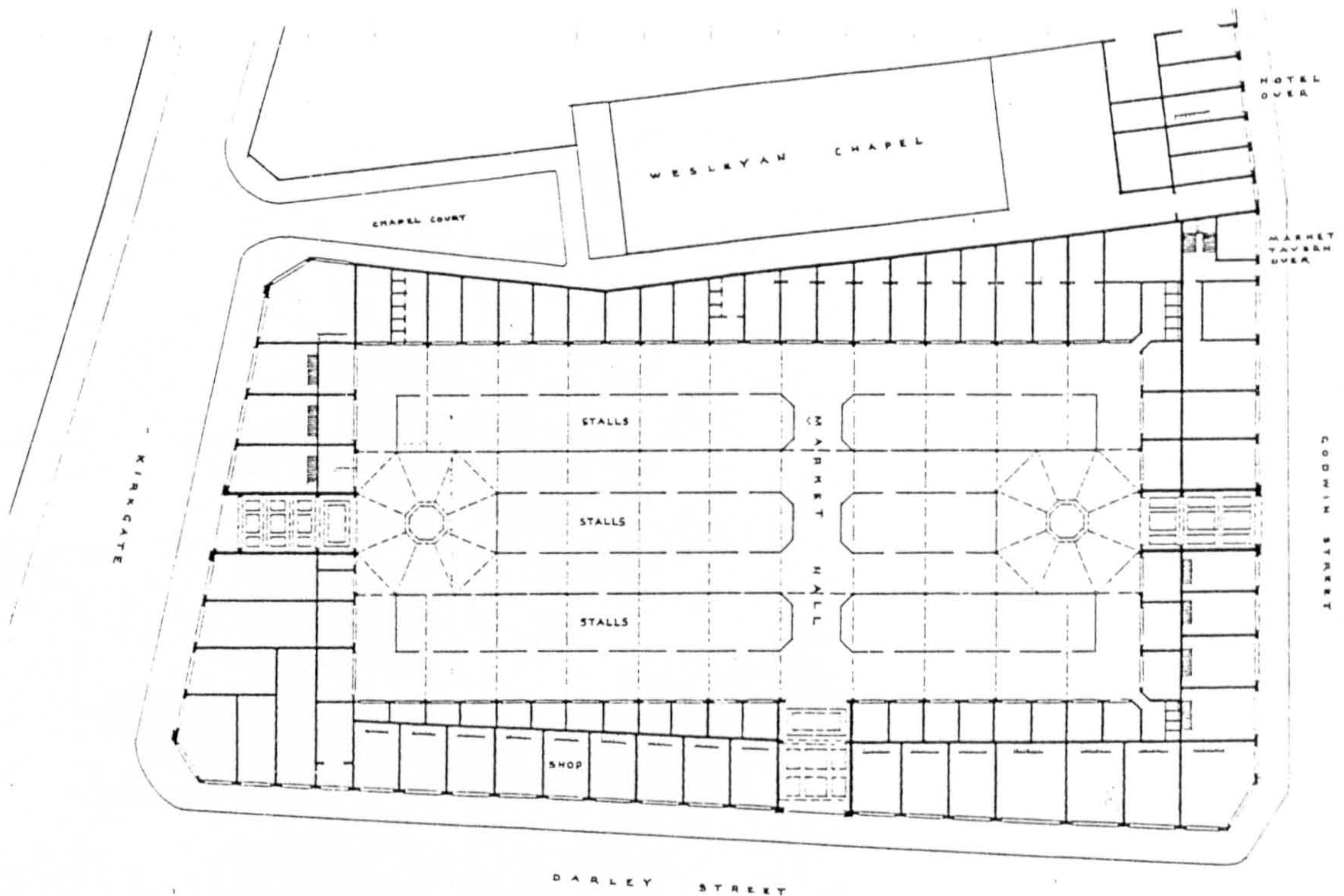
cxvia

The interior of the market showed the architects' mastery of the use of glass and iron to produce a wonderfully light and airy interior.



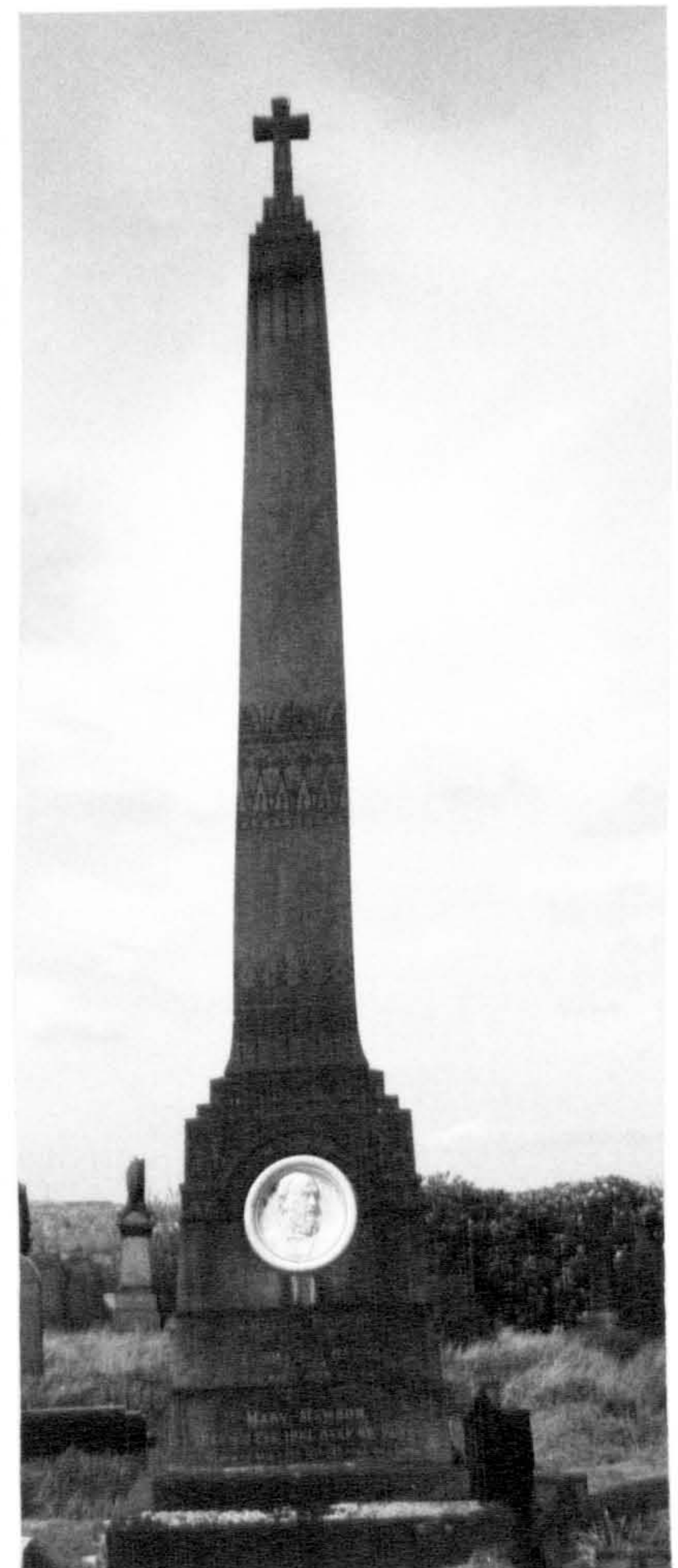


- cxvib The plan of the **Kirkgate Market** (top) shows the market hall with its domes and glazed roofs surrounded by rows of shops. The part of the market towards Godwin Street was built as the second phase and included a library above the shops on the corner of Darley and Godwin Streets.
- cxvii Lockwood and Mawson also designed the virtually contemporary **St James' Wholesale Market** (bottom). This established high standards of hygiene and convenience with many of the larger warehouses linked directly to their own railway sidings.



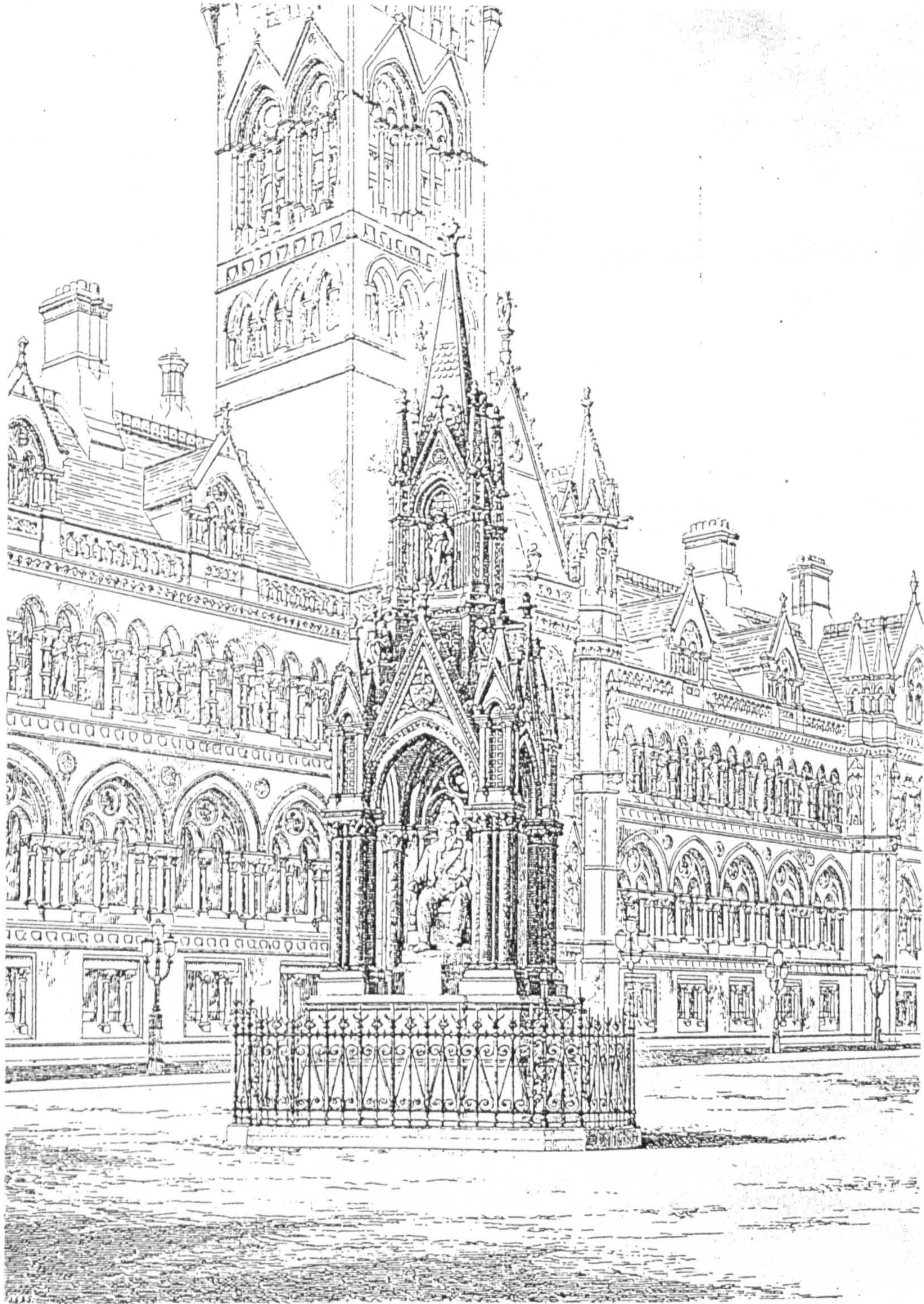


- cxviii    **The Clock Tower at Airmyn** could almost have been a scale model of the Bradford Wool Exchange or Hull Town Hall towers. Placed on a bend in the road, the tower was a highly picturesque addition to the small village.
- cxix    **William Mawson's funerary monument**, in addition to the bronze relief of the architect's face, contained a number of Masonic symbols and motifs. The pyramidal shape was itself a clear allusion to the Egyptian roots of Masonic lore.



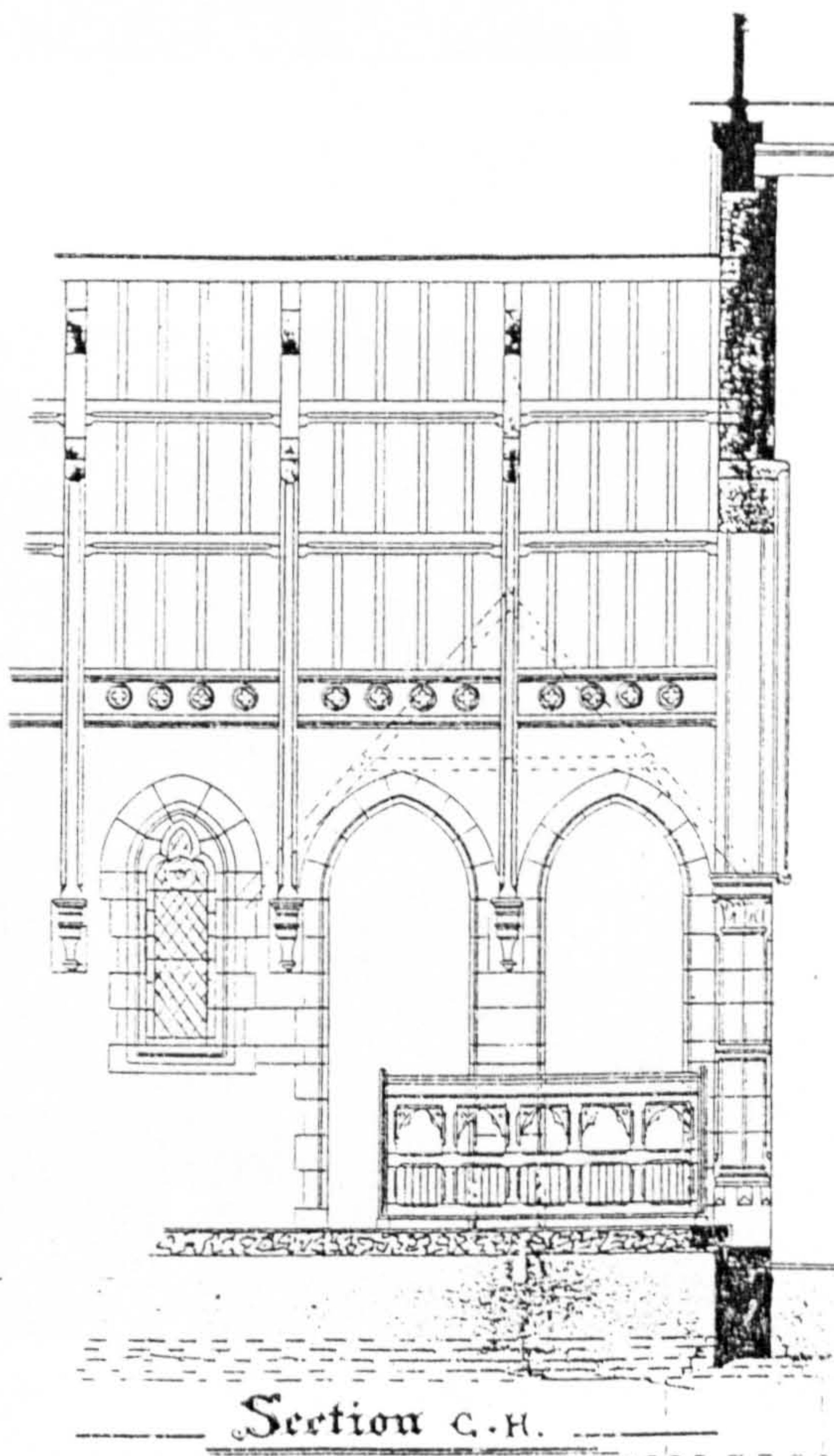
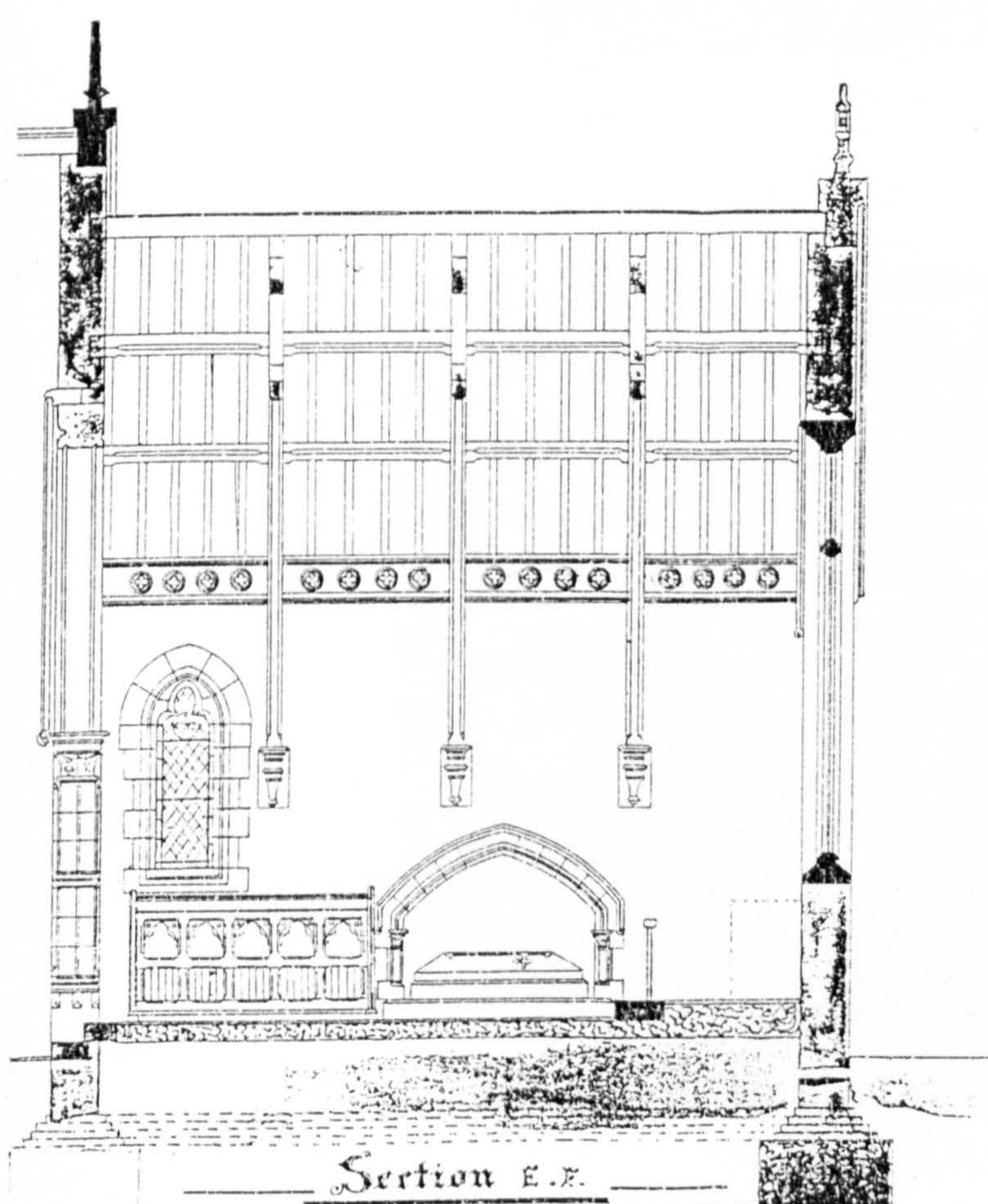
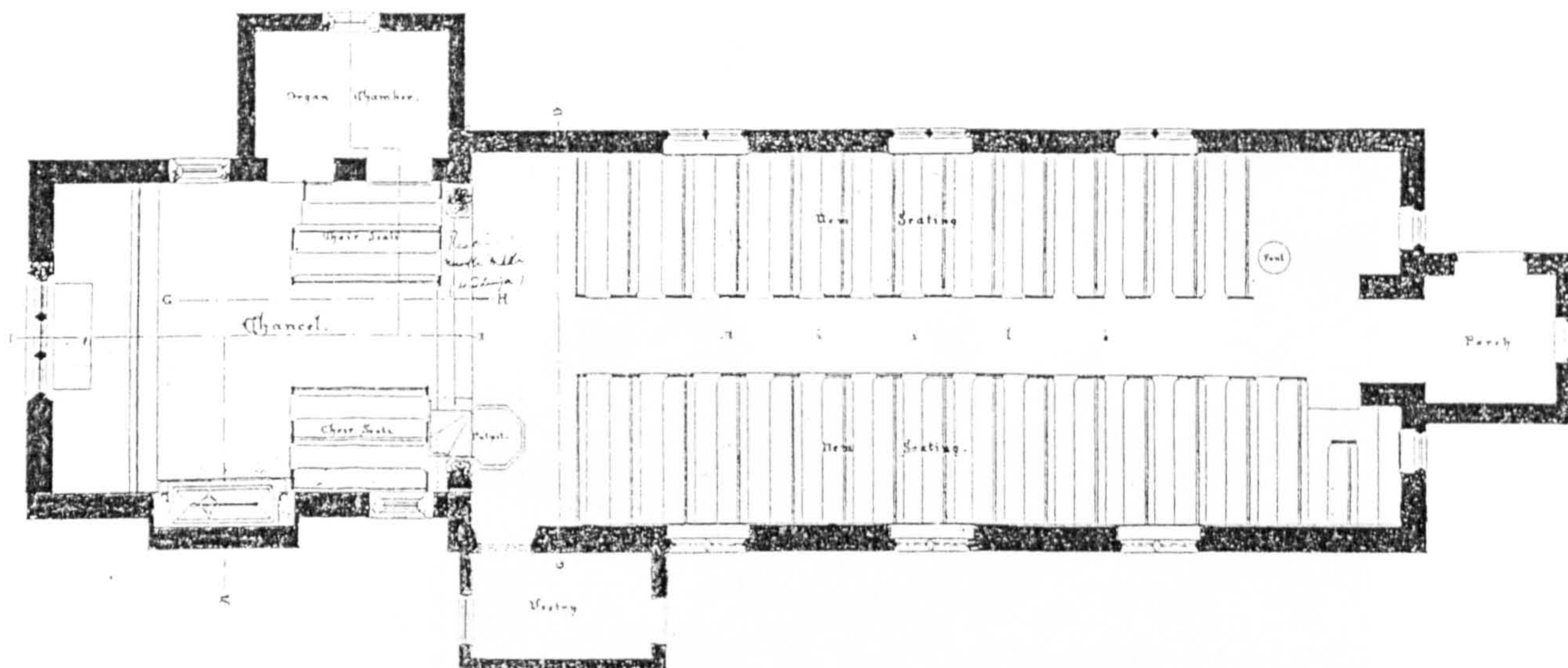


It was highly appropriate that Lockwood and Mawson should be the architects for the **Memorial to Titus Salt**, one of their greatest friends and patrons. The canopy was undoubtedly strongly influenced by the Albert Memorial, but was in a style appropriate to the architecture of the recently-completed town hall behind. Unfortunately the association was lost when the memorial was moved to Lister Park in the early twentieth century.





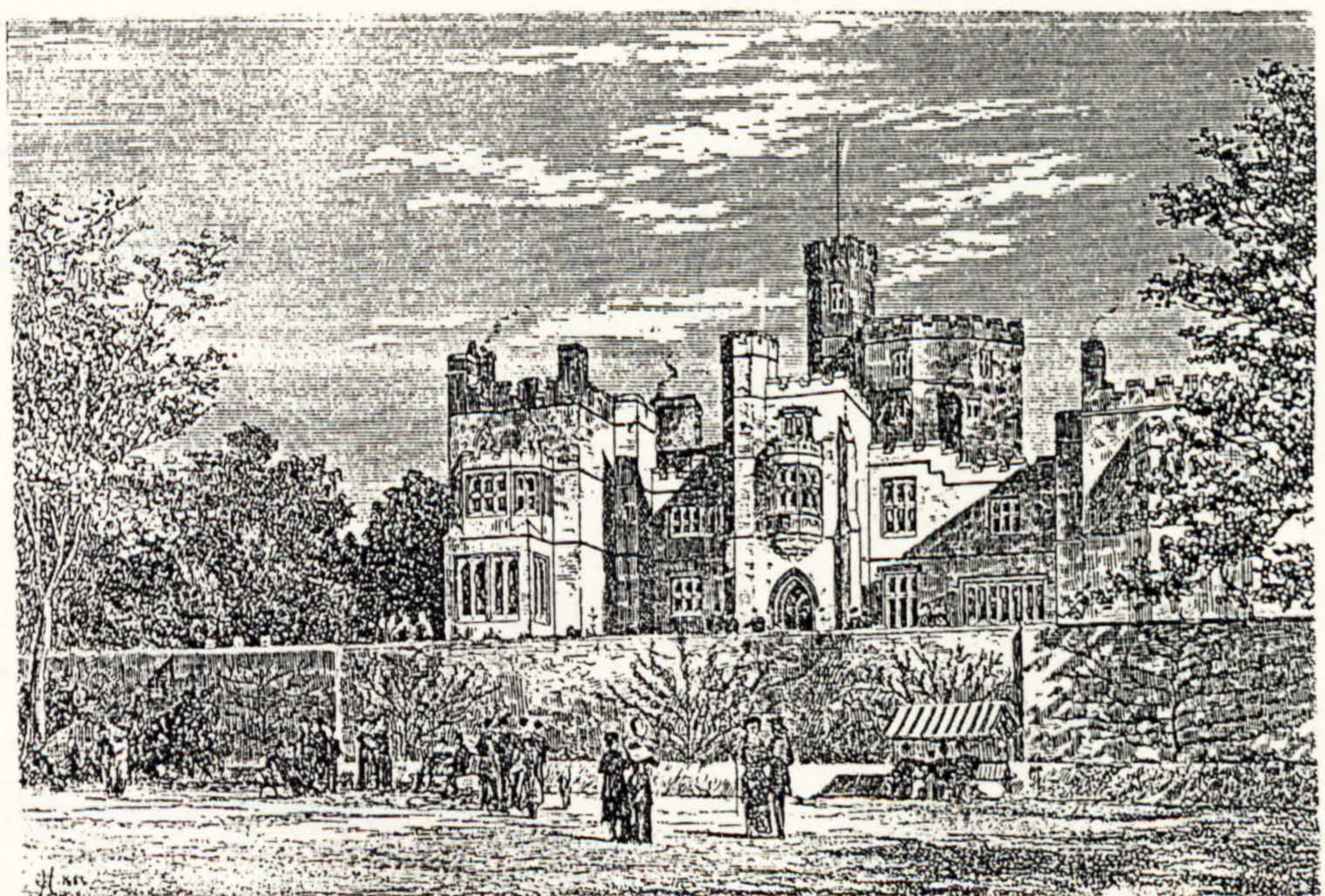
In 1884, the Mawson brothers carried out extensive alterations at **The Church of St David in Airmyn**. They built a new chancel (bottom) and carried out numerous other repairs and reordering. The detailed specification and quality of plans which they produced indicate the great care taken which was in stark contrast to many of the church 'restorations' undertaken by other Victorian architects.



Scale of Feet.

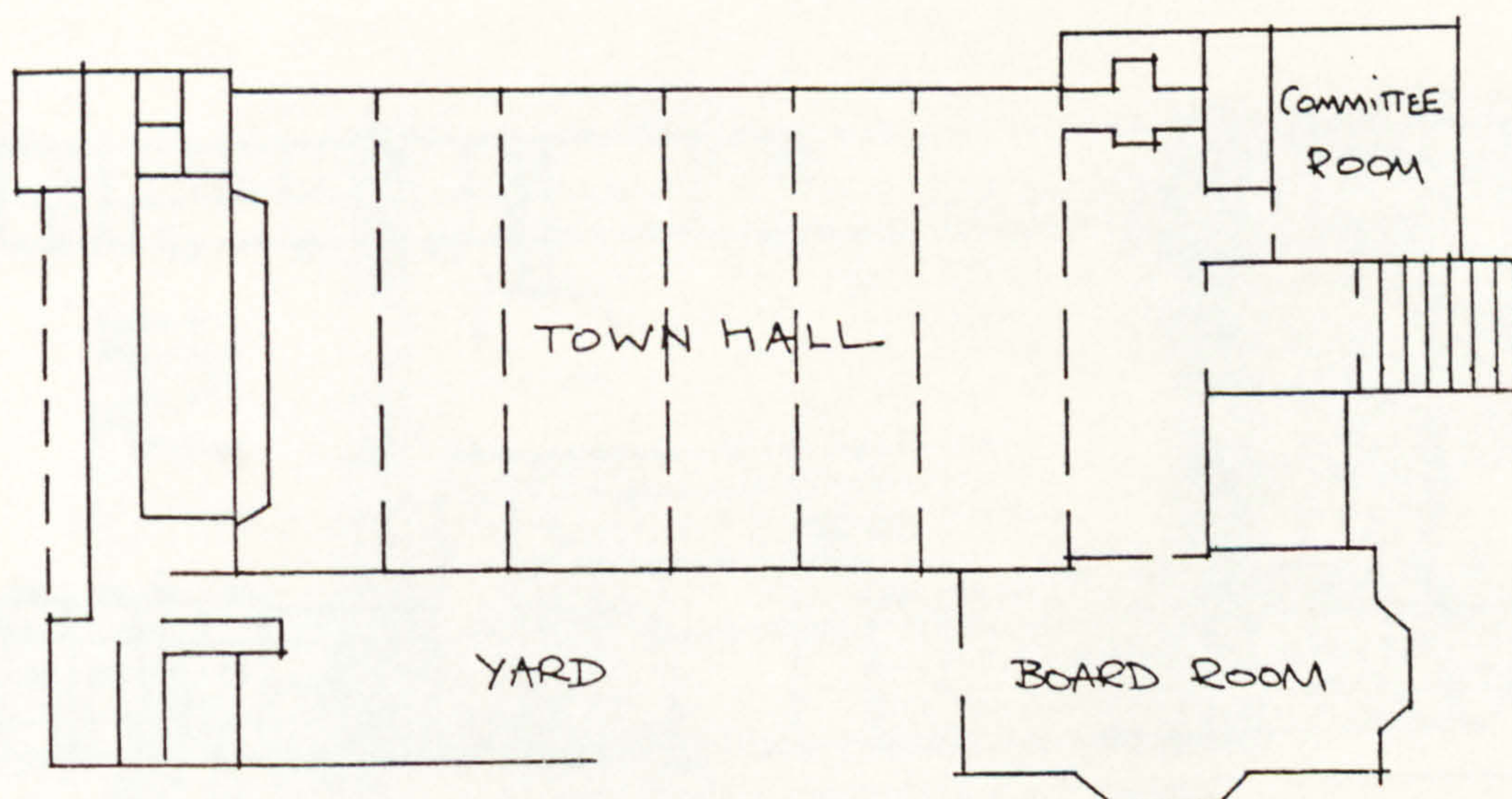


- cxxii     **The Halifax Commercial Banking Co. In Halifax** (top) was an extremely competently-handled piece of Gothic architecture with detailing based on the Bradford Town Hall.
- ccxxiii     The alterations to **Hornby Castle** (bottom) showed that the relationship between the architects and wealthy Bradford industrialists continued after the death of Lockwood. In addition to the alteration of buildings in the village, the Mawson brothers built a new east wing to remove the 'lop-sided' appearance of the huge castle.



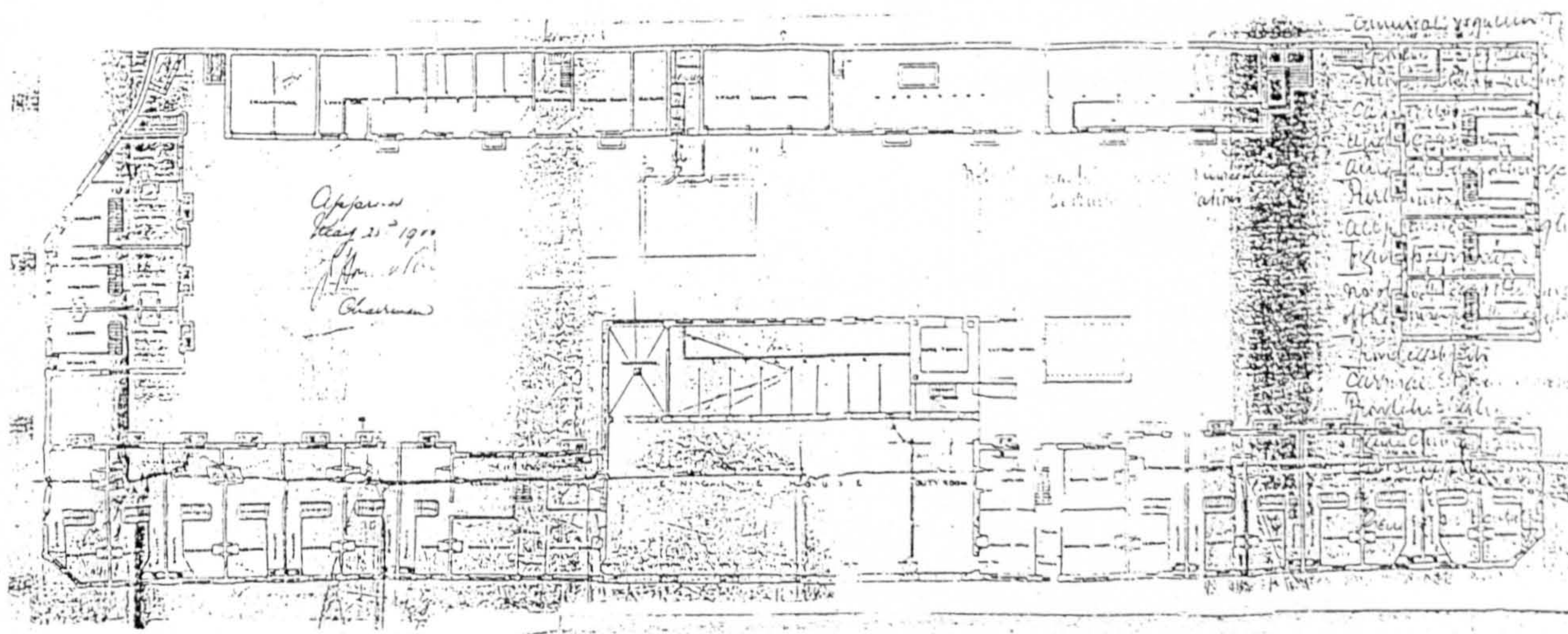
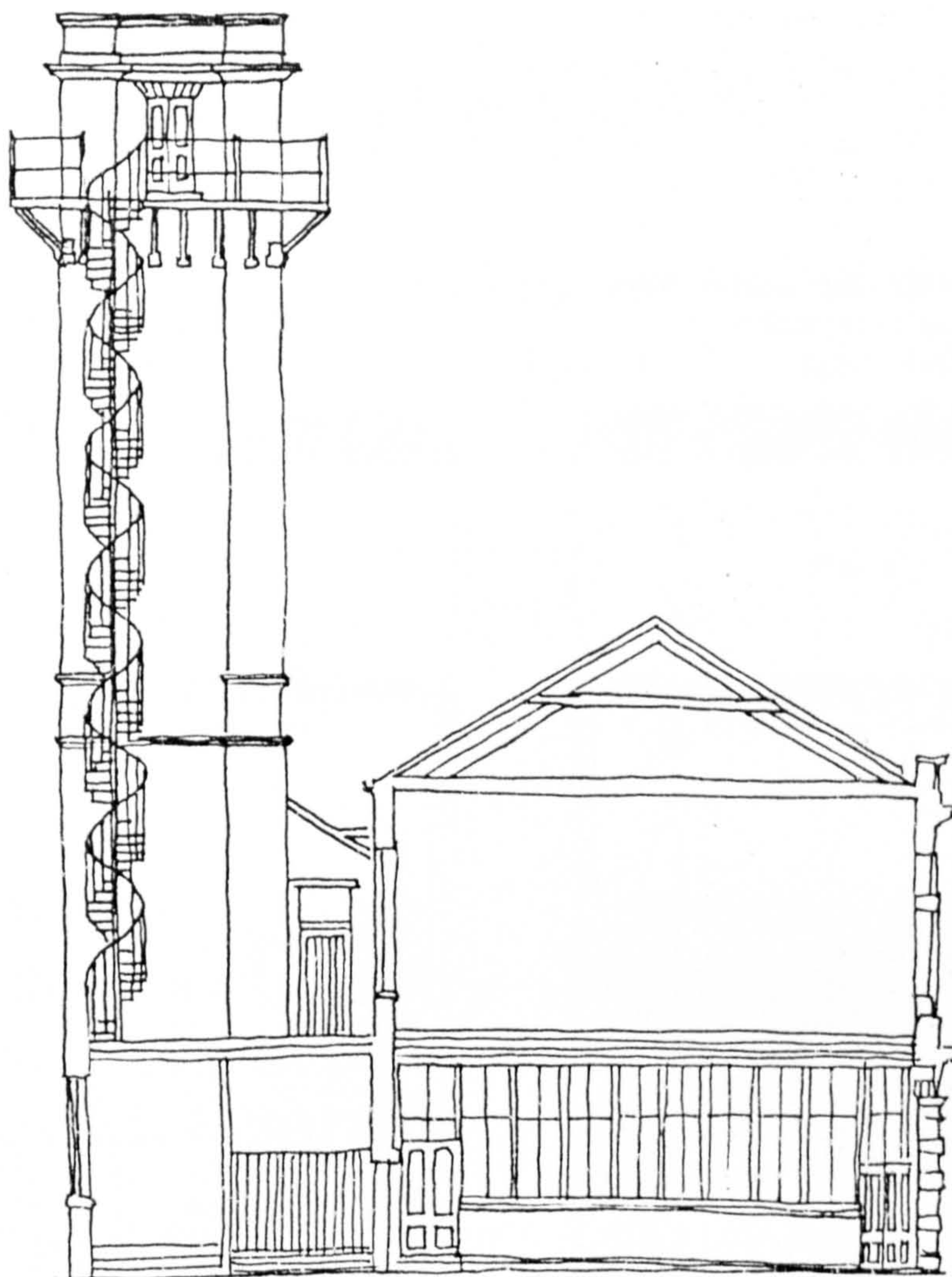


**The Cleckheaton Town Hall** demonstrated that even after both Henry Lockwood and William Mawson had ceased to be involved, the practice was capable of producing high-quality designs. The style was different though, in a fashionable 'free-style' with fenestration arranged with regard to the rooms behind. The large hall was on the high *piano nobile* level whilst the tower had a very eastern appearance.





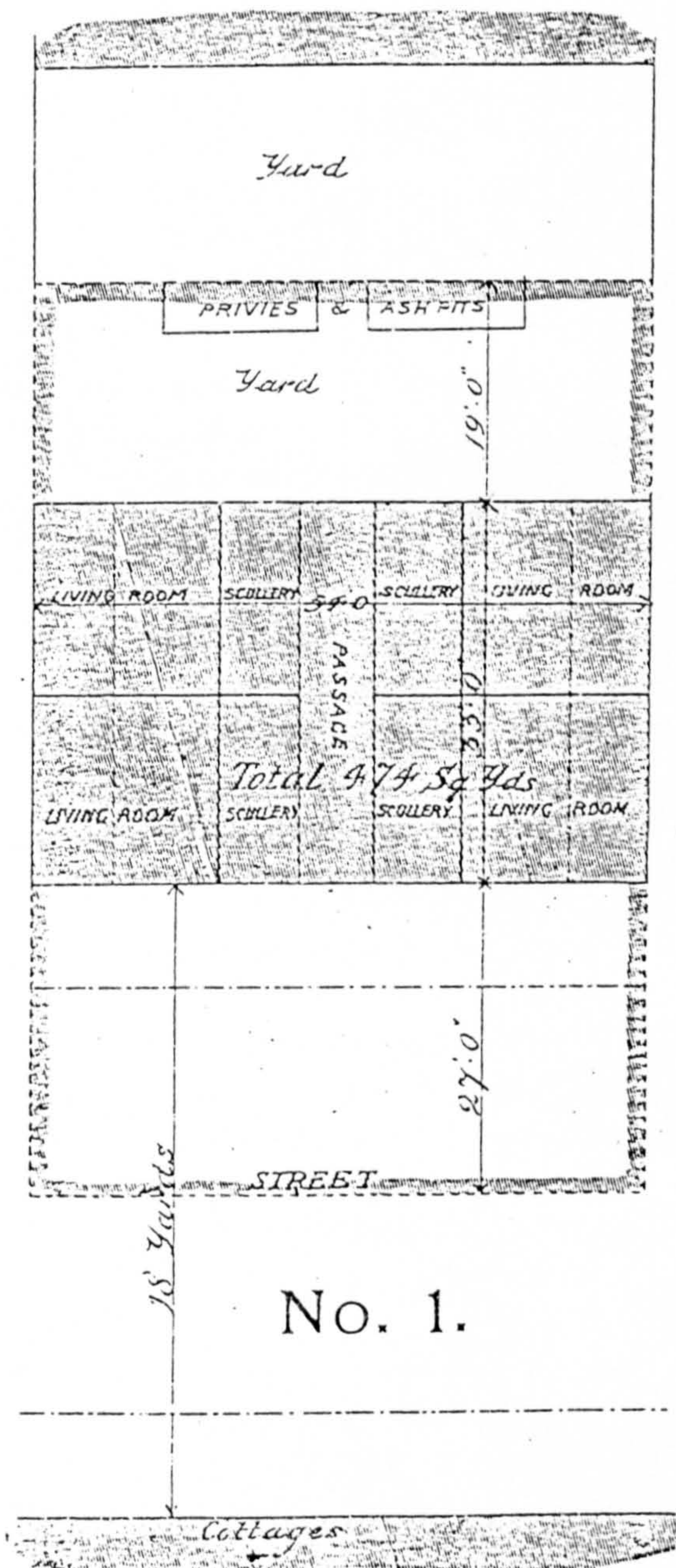
**The Bradford Fire Station** was a large commission won in competition with 43 other architects. The building included engine house, stables and workshops, but also had firemen's houses around the central court. A gymnasium was provided above the main engine house. The hose tower was the principal feature, whilst the rest of the building was a free mix of a number of different architectural styles.



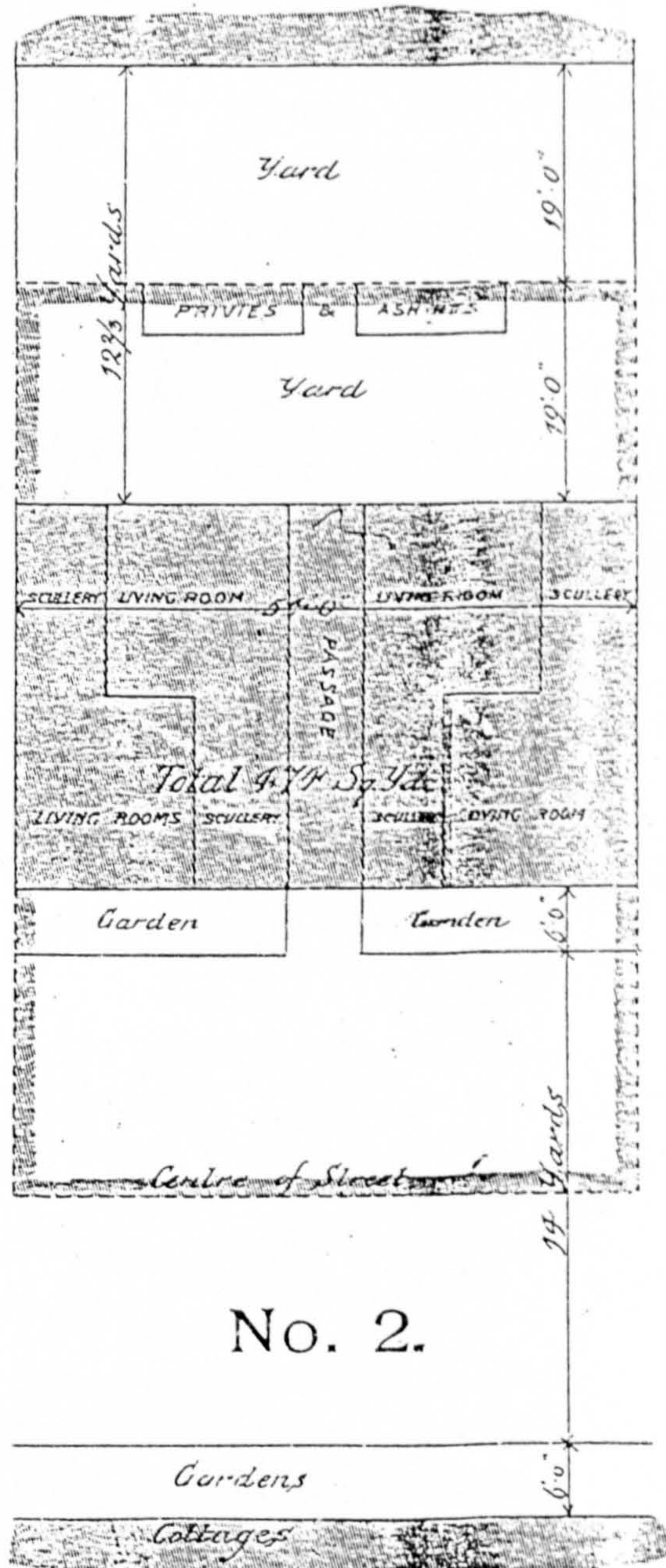


cxxvi Mawson and Hudson attempted to rekindle the relationship of the practice and the council by producing a report on the 'Best Mode of Building Cottages'. This promoted the idea of 'through-by-lights', L-shaped houses which fitted together like a jigsaw and therefore had front and rear aspects unlike the normal back-to-backs. The idea was sound but when the council sought to redevelop its insanitary areas, the improved transport and widening of the borough meant it could do so on the edge of the city where high density housing was not a necessity.

BACK-TO-BACK SCULLERY HOUSES  
WITH JOINT YARD.



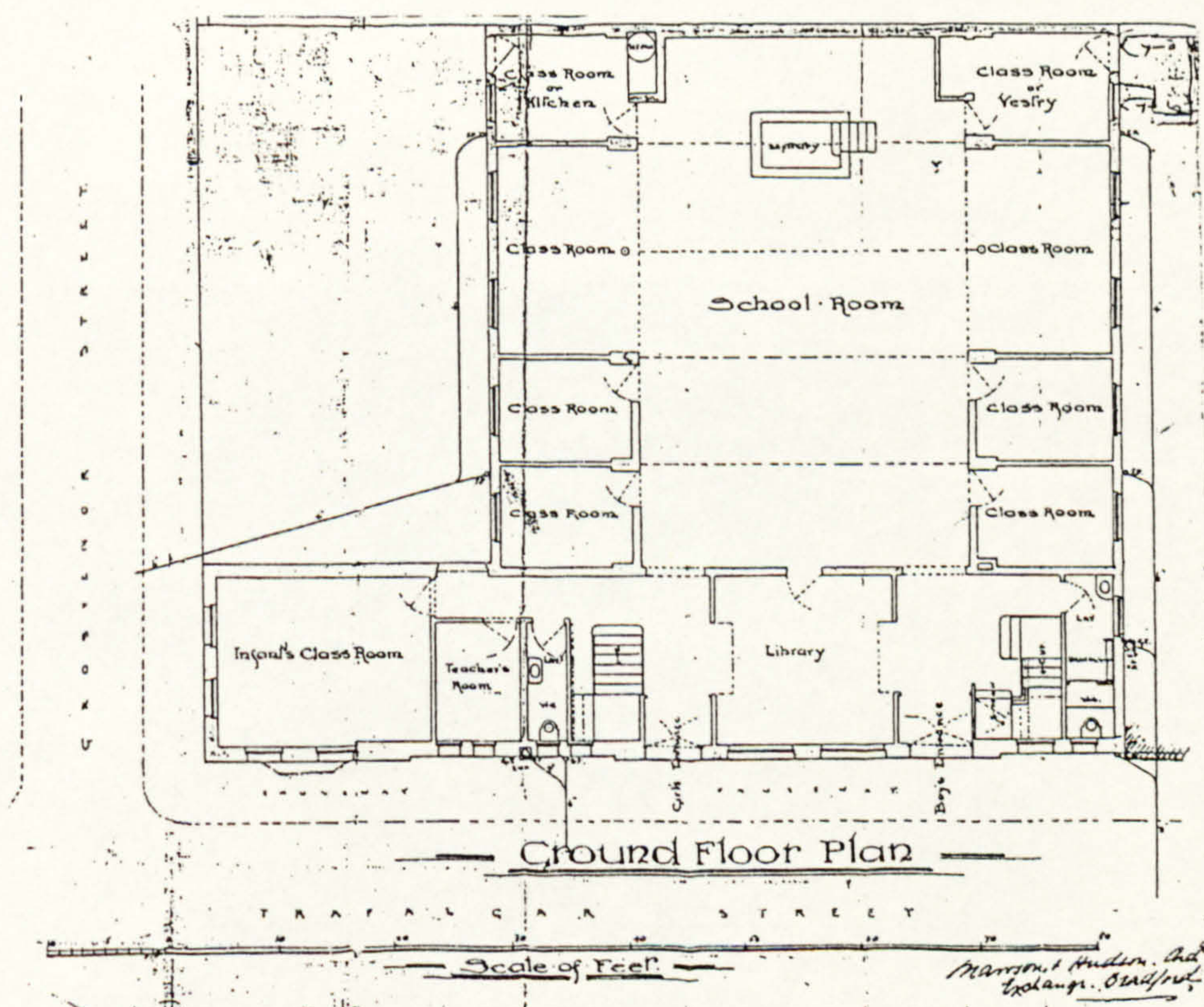
BACK-TO-BACK SCULLERY HOUSES WITH  
THROUGH VENTILATION AND  
JOINT YARD.



Scale 1/16 inch = 1 foot.



cxxvii    **The Baptist Sunday School, Trafalgar Street, Hull** was a relatively modest commission but one which was competently carried out. The style was a fashionable mixture of Gothic features and 'arts and crafts' timber work, whilst the plan provided a number of facilities on a relatively tight site.





**LOCKWOOD AND MAWSON**  
**OF BRADFORD AND LONDON**

**PART 3: CHRONOLOGICAL GAZETTEER**

**JON BURGESS**

**Ph.D**

Centre for Conservation Studies  
Leicester School of Architecture  
De Montfort University  
Leicester

November 1998



## **A. THE BUILDINGS OF HENRY FRANCIS LOCKWOOD**

### **1. THE NEW PRISON, YORK CASTLE, YORK, NORTH YORKSHIRE**

Built 1826-35                      Demolished 1935

Lockwood's first documented building project. In 1825, the large house and grounds adjacent to Clifford's Tower, the remaining shell of York Castle, were purchased as the site for a new prison and P.F. Robinson and G.T. Andrews were commissioned as the architects. Lockwood supervised the building works from 1832 whilst serving his articles with the firm.

### **2. DENT'S COTTAGE, 92 PARK STREET, WINTERTON, LINCOLNSHIRE**

Built c.1835                      Grid Reference SE 934 184                      Illustration No.i

Probably Lockwood's first solo commission. The remodelling of a roadside cottage in picturesque but superficial Gothic style with details applied symmetrically to the building. The corners had staged buttresses and a central door was topped by pinnacles and lavish parapet gables with similar high pinnacles at the apex. A cluster of four Tudor Gothic chimney ridge stacks was centrally placed. Two tiers of windows with traceried panels between them were treated as a single composition in the centre of the garden front, with a similar treatment to the roadside elevation with a heavily moulded four-centred arched doorway beneath a pair of cusped windows with a central mullion. There were similar windows with heavy drip-moulds to those on the ground floor on the entrance front. The building was rendered with stone detailing. Heavily influenced by early published works on Gothic Architecture.

### **3. KINGSTON COLLEGE, BEVERLEY ROAD, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1837                      Grid Reference TA 091 296                      Illustration No. iii

A lavish Tudor Gothic building with a prominent gabled centrepiece and paired but smaller gables at the ends of each side wing. Red brick with stone dressings and two storeys with a thirteen bay front elevation. A completely symmetrical U-shaped building with scholarly Gothic detailing. The principal entrance within the centrepiece had a four-centred arched three-light window with cusping above a doorway with Tudor Gothic drip-mould. Either side were single windows and large decagonal staged buttresses supporting elaborate crocketed pinnacles. A huge pinnacle crashed through the apex of the gable which had a moulded parapet pierced with quatrefoils. The smaller wing gables had similar but smaller buttresses with pinnacles with domed tops. The gabled bays in the end wings had two-storey bay windows with mullions and arched heads with carved spandrels and parapets pierced with quatrefoils. Between each pair of gables in the side wings were doors through which the segregated sexes entered. These end pieces were linked to the centre by plain three bay wings each with unmoulded two-light mullioned windows. The building was damaged in the war and survives, robbed of much of its detailing, in a much altered state.



#### **4. No.44 BEVERLEY ROAD HULL**

Built 1837

Grid Reference TA 091 296

Illustration No. iv

Presumably built as the gate lodge to Kingston College. Originally single-storey and three bays with a central door. The doorcase was a miniature version of the Bootham Bar at York, and either side were bay windows with tall mullioned windows and Tudor-arched heads. The attractive door with cusped lights and quatrefoil panels still survives. The building is now stuccoed and had a second storey with curious Italianate window-heads added, presumably later in the century, by an unknown architect. An original octagonal gate pier with a domed top and crocketed finial survives adjacent to the lodge.

#### **5. HOLDERNESS WARD BRITISH SCHOOL, DANSOM LANE, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1838

Grid Reference TA 108 294

Illustration No. v

Small two-storey school built in Tudor Gothic style with typically segregated entrances for boys and girls. There were mullioned windows with drip-moulds and an oriel in the centre of the first floor and a gable above. The building was symmetrical and had a crenellated parapet. The shell of the building survives in industrial use, but its facade has been mutilated.

#### **6. No.8 CHURCH LANE, KIRK ELLA, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1839

Grid Reference TA 022 297

Red brick house with stone dressings probably designed as the vicarage. Tudor Gothic design with staged buttresses and the ground and first floor windows treated as a single composition on the main frontage. Mullioned windows and a vestigial Tudor Gothic porch. The building has a curiously asymmetrical appearance which may have been the result of the considerable alterations later in the nineteenth century by the Hull architects Smith and Brodrick. It has been further extended and altered in recent years.

#### **7. BEVERLEY AND EAST RIDING PUBLIC ROOMS, NORWOOD, BEVERLEY, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1839-40

Grid Reference TA 034 399

Illustration No. x

Concert hall and venue for local fairs and shows built at a cost of £2500. Lockwood's first Classical building with a large room 85 feet long, 53 feet wide and 41 feet high divided into five bays lengthwise by three in width. The space was lit by high lunette windows in each bay. The lavish internal decoration was said to be modelled on 'Roman Baths', but appears to have been strongly influenced by French Classical designs. The building was divided horizontally in the 1930s when the lower floor was incorporated into a cinema. Externally, the lunette windows are the only survival of the original building which, at the time of writing, is being demolished.



## **8. CHAPEL, TRINITY HOUSE, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1839-43

Grid Reference TA 098 288

Illustration Nos. xi-xvii

Classical chapel costing £3,500 replacing an eighteenth century predecessor designed by the Surveyor General Sir William Chambers. Plan based on a Greek-cross with a groin vaulted centre topped by a ribbed dome. To the west was a tunnel vaulted arm supported on pilasters within which was a gallery, whilst to the east was an apse standing on columns. The Order used was Corinthian but with nautical motifs added to the capitals. A sumptuous interior with extensive use of marble - white veined used for the pilasters, brown Ashford marble used for the columns and dado and a mixture of colours inlaid into the floor. A fine square pulpit with bronze mouldings and box pews were also by Lockwood. The exterior was restrained with the east elevation comprising a plain pediment supported by Greek Corinthian pilasters and the west, with a tall tetrastyle porch with antae and a Diocletian window above. The east elevation was of Ashlar whilst the west was stuccoed.

## **9. ALTERATIONS AND OUTBUILDINGS, SEWERBY HOUSE, BRIDLINGTON, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1839-48

Grid reference TA 205 691

Illustration Nos. xxii-xxiv, xxx, xxxi

Substantial private house dating from the eighteenth century to which Lockwood made numerous alterations and added a range of outbuildings. The first phase of the work involved the design of a gatehouse. The triumphal arch rises above two single-storey wings. The arch is a highly competent Classical design with a lofty Doric archway with coffered ceiling. A plain pediment tops the composition supported on a Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes. The side wings have pyramidal roofs, ashlar quoins and aediculated window surrounds. Surviving plans show a number of sketch and watercolour variations which Lockwood laid before his client. Most had Italianate lodges set behind gates and railings, and one proposed two miniature Greek temples facing each other across the entrance road.

Adjacent to the house, Lockwood added a second arch beside the stables of the house. This again used the Doric Order with pilasters supporting a recessed arch with a keystone. The cornice is topped by a curious scroll decoration on a base with a Greek key motif. In 1847, the architect designed a clock tower to attach to the stables. This took the form of a Tuscan portico with a plain pediment. From the attic rises the clock tower itself with Greek key motifs and console brackets supporting the overhanging eaves of the roof.

The house itself had been rebuilt in 1714 in a plain Classical style. Lockwood raised the wings by a storey and rebuilt the stone cornice and pediment. He also attached a large conservatory supported by cast-iron columns (modified later in the century). This was an extensive octagonal structure with a domed roof comparable to the palm houses found in contemporary public parks. Plans of a summerhouse with Corinthian antae with a Venetian arch between also survive, as do two plans for an 'alcove' opposite the front of the house. One is a correctly detailed Tuscan temple, the other a more florid design with pilasters with swags in the panels. The balustrade to the south terrace is probably also Lockwood's work.



Original plans also show designs for a single-storey cottage. In form this had similarities with the Police House designs, though it had battered 'Egyptianising' window surrounds. University of Hull, DDLG/30/913-919.

## **10. ROYAL INFIRMARY, PROSPECT STREET, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1840

Demolished

Illustration No. xx, xxi

Alterations and extensions to the Palladian style infirmary building designed by George Pycock in 1783-4. Lockwood's cosmetic alterations included the application of stucco to the brick walls and the addition of porticos of the Greek Corinthian Order for the centrepiece and Doric for the end pavilions. He also applied columns set on a rusticated base to the rest of the front elevation. His more practical involvement included extending the rear wings and increasing the depth of the building by adding a bank of rooms to the rear of the main corridor. It seems likely that Lockwood also added a single storey Tudor Gothic gate lodge with an oriel window and a separate range to the rear (possibly an isolation ward) also in the Tudor Gothic style.

## **11. EASTDALE, WELTON, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1840

Demolished

Private house extensively rebuilt together with a variety of outbuildings for Robert Raikes Junior. After Lockwood's work, the mansion included an entrance hall with domed roof and stone staircase and gallery, two drawing rooms, dining room, library, school room, justice room, nursery, two toilets and extensive servants quarters with seven servants' and six best bedrooms with three dressing rooms. The drawing rooms, separated by a folding partition, led to a terrace with views over the Humber estuary. The pleasure grounds covered more than 45 acres and included conservatories, offices, brewhouse, laundry, dairy, gardener's house, farm buildings, stables, coach houses and kennels. East Riding of Yorkshire Record Office, DDHB 52/4 93.

## **12. ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS, SPRING BANK, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1840

Redeveloped 1861

Illustration No. xxxii, xxxiii

An extensive zoological garden laid out from 1840 until the early 1860s. Lockwood, in addition to being a member of the Garden Council, was involved in the design of the gardens and was the architect of many of the buildings. The picturesque landscaped gardens had terraces, parterres, walks, lakes and fountains, whilst the buildings included an entrance lodge in the form of a Swiss chalet and a collection of 'Moorish' buildings including a menagerie, elephant house, theatre and music hall, grotto and crane house, rustic footbridge, camera obscura, refreshment buildings, keeper's lodge, shooting gallery and several cages and pits. Most of the animal houses were heated.



### **13. ST JOHN'S ANGLICAN CHAPEL, LAIRGATE, BEVERLEY, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1841

Grid Reference TA 034 395

Illustration No. xxxiv

Small Anglican chapel also known as the Minster Chapel of Ease as it was considerably more comfortable than the large unheated chancel of the Minster. As a result, two-thirds of the chapel's 900 seats were 'rented'. It was a rectangular box (more like a Nonconformist chapel) in the Early English Gothic style with shafted lancets and decoration probably based on that on the east end of the Minster itself. The Gothic detailing was symmetrically arranged with a slightly prominent centrepiece housing the entrance door with three large lancets above. These were themselves topped by a gable window with Geometrical tracery. Either side, the two aisles were lit by a central lancet flanked by two spiky lancets - a motif copied directly from the Minster. Surviving detail such as a band of dog-tooth moulding, angle buttresses and the capitals with stylised intertwining foliage are relatively correct Early English features, though an early illustration appears to indicate crocketing to the gable and door canopy more typical of the Decorated period. The building survives as a Memorial Hall though the central gable has been removed, a modern porch added and the front windows blocked.

### **14. THE CORN EXCHANGE, EXCHANGE STREET, DRIFFIELD, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1841

Grid Reference TA 023 578

Market building with a Classical stone facade which was destroyed in the 1930s. Although built as a Corn Exchange, the farmers refused to move from their traditional venue in the Bell Hotel's courtyard, and Lockwood's building became the town hall. The remaining fragment is now incorporated into the Bell Hotel. On Exchange Street evidence of the former main entrance with rusticated stonework and an impressive keystone with a carved head is all that remains.

### **15. WESLEYAN METHODIST CHAPEL, GREAT THORNTON STREET, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1841-3

Destroyed by fire 1907

Illustration No. xix

Massive Greek Revival Nonconformist Chapel seating 1400 people and built at a cost of £7000. A prostyle octastyle temple with Corinthian columns raised on a podium accessed by a wide flight of steps. Doric colonnades linked the main chapel to pedimented end pavilions which were mini Doric distyle in antis temples, one of which survived into the 1950s. The wings presumably housed the various offices and Sunday schools. It had an impressive ashlar front, with sides and rear of brick with stone dressings to the windows. The interior had a horseshoe-shaped raked gallery sat on fluted Doric columns. Probably built in association with Thomas Allom.



## **16. HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, MARKET PLACE, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Restorations 1841-5    Grid Reference TA 099 286

Illustration No. xxxvii

Restorations and minor alterations made to the early fourteenth century parish church. The most visible piece of work was the reroofing of the crossing which Lockwood finished with an attractive star pattern of lierne vaults. In 1846, Lockwood designed the Gothic stone pulpit. This is in the Decorated style with a staircase gracefully entwining the central pillar, and shows Lockwood's mastery of Gothic ornament.

## **17. ALBION INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL, ALBION STREET, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1841-2

Demolished 1941

Illustration No. xviii

The foundation stone was laid on 7 July 1841 and the chapel opened a year later at a cost of £8000. It was a massive prostyle hexastyle temple with a Giant Order of fluted Doric columns. The columns supported a plain but well proportioned pediment on a frieze of triglyphs and metopes. The main facade was of stone with the sides of grey brick but with eared stone surrounds to the windows. The building was raised up on a podium of steps which gave the building an extraordinary presence on the street and enabled schoolrooms and burial vaults to be provided beneath. The chapel could seat 1642 worshippers and had galleries sat on square iron pillars with appropriate 'Grecian' capitals. Probably designed in association with Thomas Allom.

## **18. CONSERVATORY; BURTON CONSTABLE HALL, NEAR SPROATLEY, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1842-4

Demolished

Illustration No. xxix

Alterations to the boudoir of Lady Marianne Constable with the addition of a conservatory in an appropriate style to the large country house built predominantly in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. Accounts submitted to Sir Clifford Constable between 1842 and 1844 by Lockwood indicate the extent of the works which were carried out at a cost of £169 7s 5d (including the architect's fee of £40). Later alterations by Lockwood were carried out at a cost of £92 3s 5d. The conservatory was a simple building with transom and mullion windows, and Lockwood's attractive drawings show a choice of three strapwork devices to decorate the garden entrance. Inside the conservatory, Lockwood provided an aviary and fountain. The architect's specification included the choice of deal for the windows, mouldings and cornices, fir for the lintels and oak for the floor. Burton Constable Collection, Print no.1517; East Riding of Yorkshire Record Office, DDCC (2) 68.



## **19. ALTERATIONS, LIVERPOOL PARISH WORKHOUSE, BROWNLOW HILL, LIVERPOOL**

Built 1843

Demolished

Illustration No. vi

A large five-storey structure built as the Parish Workhouse and attached to the Brownlow Hill Infirmary in Liverpool. Tudor Gothic building on an essentially U-shaped plan, but also with two projecting forward wings with Dutch gables facing Mount Pleasant. A 17 bay main range, with the front wings forming bays 4 and 14. The central bay was topped by a lantern and cupola, and the major rear wings ran backwards from the end three bays of the main range. There was a curious arrangement of rooms with some off front corridors, some off central corridors, and some accessed through other rooms, probably indicative of a search for the most convenient internal arrangement. The rear courtyard which formed the space between the two rear wings appears to have been subdivided to segregate the sexes. The majority of rooms appear to have been heated evidenced by the array of ornate Tudor chimney parapet and ridge stacks. Probably built in association with Thomas Allom.

## **20. KIRKDALE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, WESTMINSTER ROAD, LIVERPOOL**

Built 1843

Demolished

Illustration No. viii

Enormous building capable of housing 1200 inmates. E-shaped on plan with pavilions at the end of each bar of the E. The middle wing had a central tower of ecclesiastical appearance, and other decoration included stone oriels and transom and mullion windows in the Tudor Gothic style. The central wing conveniently separated the boys' and girls' yards, and the front elevation looked over a pleasant green with paired lodges presumably for receiving the different sexes. Designed in association with Thomas Allom.

## **21. POLICE HOUSE, 37 EASTGATE NORTH, DRIFFIELD, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1843

Grid Reference TA 024 579

Illustration No. xxvi

Small red brick police house, one of three designed by Lockwood in 1843 after the County Police Act of 1839 brought a requirement for the provision of 'lock-ups' in the rural towns of the East Riding. Simple Italianate three bay building with a round arched door through the central projecting bay. The central bay has a full two storeys with a single first floor window above the heavily moulded door with a central keystone. Small slit windows either side of the door, and pilaster strips which supported the pyramidal roof. The two side wings had pitched roofs and sash windows to the ground floor only, the first floor windows being in the side elevation. The roofs were originally of welsh slate and had overhanging eaves. On the south side was a small single storey outshut.

## **22. POLICE HOUSE, THE GREEN, MARKET WEIGHTON, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1843

Grid Reference SE 878 418

Small white brick police house contemporary with, and virtually identical to, those at Driffield and Howden. Three bays and two storeys, with central bay projecting and housing



the entrance door with moulded round-arched head and small slit windows beside the door. Originally followed the pattern of the other contemporary 'lock-ups' with a pyramidal roof above the slightly higher central bay, and windows in the ground floor only of the side wings. Now altered and with a pitched roof spanning the whole building and first floor windows inserted.

### **23. POLICE HOUSE, 20 TREETON, HOWDEN, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1843

Grid Reference SE 751 285

Illustration No. xxvii, xxviii

Small red brick police house contemporary and virtually identical to those at Drifffield and Market Weighton. Beautifully proportioned three bay building of two storeys with the projecting central storey being slightly taller and housing the entrance door. The door had a heavily moulded round-arched surround without a keystone and small slit windows either side. Above a single, centrally placed, squat three-over-three light sash window with eared architraves and a moulded band running across the bay from the cill. The centrepiece was topped by a pyramidal slate roof with overhanging eaves. The side bays had windows to the ground floor only, these being square sashes again with eared architraves. The pitched roofs had massive stone parapet gables. The original plans survive and show the original layout with the principal rooms (kitchen and parlour) to the front and three unheated cells to the rear. The kitchen had direct access to the yard with privy, larder and coals, and to the rear of the house was a long constable's and stable yard, with the stables leading off to the side. East Riding of Yorkshire Record Office, QAP 5/73.

### **24. SCULCOATES UNION WORKHOUSE, BEVERLEY ROAD, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1843-5

Demolished

Illustration No. ix

Tudor Gothic workhouse with office and day room range to front and infirmary to rear. The front range sat between the wings of the workhouse building virtually hiding it from the street. This housed the governor and matron board- and waiting-rooms, with the day rooms either side. Above were the bedrooms. On each side were separate lodges, one for each of the sexes. Behind the central building was a dining room capable of seating 300 with kitchens adjoining. The building effectively dissected the site and so segregated the men in the north part from the females in the south, with different ages and classes of paupers having their own court. Adjacent to the main building were school rooms, wash houses, and tailors' and cobblers' shops, and to the rear was the infirmary and gig-houses and stables. The building was 260 feet wide and 370 feet deep. The *Hull Advertiser* on 17 May 1844 described it as a 'beautiful and immense structure...it's front aspect would not disgrace the residence of a nobleman'.

### **25. ST MARK'S CHURCH, ST MARK'S STREET, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1844

Demolished 1958-9

Illustration No. xxxv

Large Gothic Anglican church built to cope with the increasing population in the Groves area



of Garrison Side. It was a red brick building with stone dressings capable of seating 1115 people. The building had a large aisled nave with transepts and an apsidal end. The church was in the First Pointed Gothic style with plate traceried windows forming paired lancets with cinquefoil heads. The slenderest of spires had mullions and pinnacles, and the angle staged buttresses of the nave and aisles were also topped by pinnacles. The lofty interior had slender clustered columns with waterleaf capitals.

## **26. ST MARY'S CHURCH, COTTINGHAM, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Restoration 1844

Grid Reference TA 047 329

Illustration No. xxxviii

Church dating from the thirteenth century with Perpendicular crossing tower. Lockwood removed the galleries, reroofed the church, rebuilt the bellframe and renewed the floor to accommodate hot water heating beneath. He also incorporated an organ and provided a new pulpit and Caen stone communion rail together with the design of new pews throughout. He also designed a new pulpit in the Decorated style which stands on a central pier with a staircase twining around and clearly has similarities with that he designed at the Holy Trinity Church in Hull. The Cottingham pulpit (unlike its Hull counterpart) had an elaborate decorated canopy with a central pinnacle. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, R.W.F. 1844/7.

## **27. COMMUTER VILLAGE, NORTH FERRIBY, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Unexecuted plan

Illustration No.ii

In August 1845, a notice proclaiming the auction of 120 acres of first rate land 'for a number of villas and residences for families of the first respectability' was advertised. The auction of the land at North Ferriby was to be held in the George Inn in the October. North Ferriby had recently been connected to Hull by rail and was described as being 'protected from the cold north and east winds, and free from the damp atmosphere of Hull'. Lockwood produced drawings showing the 'allotment' of the land which was to be divided into 17 lots. Fourteen of the plots would be accessed from a spine road. Lot 1 was the largest, occupying the end of the road, and with commanding views over the Humber. Most of the other plots were between 4 and 12.5 acres, though two smaller plots of just one acre each were situated near the main road on a separate plot of land. The results of the auction are unknown but the area was not developed in the manner illustrated by Lockwood. East Riding of Yorkshire Records Office, DDHB 31/10.

## **28. ST STEPHEN'S CHURCH, ST STEPHEN'S SQUARE, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1844-5

Demolished 1955-6

Illustration No. xxxvi

Elaborate stone built Anglican church in the Early English Gothic style. It was built as a Chapel-of-Ease for the North Myton part of the Holy Trinity's parish. The church was probably Hull's most elaborate Victorian church and had a high west tower topped by a broach spire. The lofty aisles had gables facing the street and there were two-storey transepts. The majority of the windows were lancets, grouped in threes at the east and west



ends. The main entrance was in the base of the tower through paired doors in an opening of plate tracery. Above the entrance doors was a blind arcade of lancets with the merest hint of cusping at their heads, whilst the upper stage of the tower had three tall lancets, the central one the tallest. The interior had galleries in the transepts supported on cast-iron columns with the gallery fronts decorated with a blind arcade of chunky lancets. The high nave had a fine vaulted ceiling supported on clustered columns. In the chancel was a sedilia in similar First-Pointed style.

## **29. ST LEONARD'S CHURCH, BEEFORD, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Alterations 1846      Grid reference TA 129 545

Predominantly Perpendicular Gothic church near Driffield. Lockwood added a north arcade and aisle in a suitable Third-Pointed Gothic with accomplished detailing to the windows which have carved heads on the labels of the mouldings.

## **30. THE INSTITUTE, ALBION STREET, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1846      Grid reference TA 094 291      Illustration No. xxv

Built as a house for Dr James Alderson, it originally stood next to Lockwood's Albion Independent Congregational Chapel. A substantial but stylistically restrained ashlar house of five bays and three storeys. In the centre is a Tuscan porch with paired columns supporting a balcony above. The building has a heavy eaves cornice, but decoration is restricted to the windows which have balconies on the ground floor and balustrades to the first.

## **31. COMPETITION ENTRY, FISH MARKET AND CORN EXCHANGE, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Entry 1846      Unexecuted

In 1846, Lockwood had entered a competition for the design of a new market in Hull. The competition did not specify the site to be built upon, though *The Builder* reported that the prominent entries were those by Lockwood for the Leadenhall site, and those by his former pupil Cuthbert Brodrick for a site on Silver Street. The following week, the periodical announced that the favoured site was now Queen Street, after consultation with local people. A week later, the scheme could not attract enough votes from Town Councillors and was dropped. Even then, a month later came a final death throe as the Corporate Surveyor was instructed to prepare plans and estimates, before the scheme was laid finally to rest.



## **B. THE WORK OF LOCKWOOD AND MAWSON**

### **32. POLICE HOUSE, SPROATLEY, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1849

Grid reference SE 195 348

Illustration No. lxxxviii

Police house, similar in plan to those designed six years previously at Drifffield, Howden and Market Weighton, and may have been completed before Lockwood met Mawson. The housebody was a rectangle with a central passageway from the front door giving direct access to the two cells which were built onto the back wall. They had tunnel vaulted brick ceilings and the toilet chain located in the passageway outside to prevent self hanging.

Simple Italianate style with three-bays but without the height variation at first floor level which characterised his early 'lock-ups'. The building had a dominant modillion cornice and the shallowest of pitched slate roofs. The windows were arched to the ground floor with arched margin panes and heads of sweeping rubbed-brick voussoirs. The first floor windows were square three-over-three sashes with voussoired flat-arched heads. The eight panelled entrance door has a plain fanlight and a continuous arched stone surround with 'Police Station' engraved above the fanlight. The building was extended later in the century and continued to be used as a court house into the 1990s.

### **33. COMPETITION ENTRY; CORN EXCHANGE, BRIGG, LINCOLNSHIRE**

Entry 1849

Demolished

One of the first commissions of the new partnership of Lockwood and Mawson, *The Builder* reporting that the competition for the design of a new Corn Exchange in Brigg had been decided in their favour, and that work was to proceed immediately. The same periodical reported later in the year that the second lowest tender of £1227 by Margeson was accepted for the building works.

### **34. COMPETITION ENTRY; CORN EXCHANGE, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Entry 1849

Unexecuted

One of three designs laid before the Committee when the aborted competition of 1846 was resurrected three years later. Lockwood and Mawson's plans beat those of Brodrick and Niemann to the first premium. The competition involved converting the corn market to a fish market, and erecting a new corn market over the butter and poultry market with accesses from Blackfriargate and Fetter Lane. Lockwood and Mawson's design was described in *The Builder* and involved a large corn exchange which partly projected over the fish market, and was lit by north light from the roof which was divided into nine components, supported on cast-iron arched girders. The fish market was similar with an arched ceiling lit from the centre. Some of the arches were left unglazed and openings were left in the ceiling and roof to provide natural ventilation. A fountain was proposed in the centre of the market, to cool and purify the atmosphere. The cost was estimated at £3800, but was reduced to £3500 by the building committee.



### **35. BRADFORD UNION WORKHOUSE, LITTLE HORTON, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1849-52

Grid reference SE 138 320

Illustration Nos. xciv

Commission won after success in a controversial competition. The original winners were announced as J.B. and W. Atkinson of York, but Lockwood and Mawson's design was eventually chosen as the better scheme for the building. The building was Italianate, the practice's first use of the style for such a building. It comprised a two-storey entrance block, flanked by a single-storey range which ran parallel to the street. Behind was the main block with a two storey parallel range with three-storey wings and gables facing the street. The centre of the main range had a pilastered belvedere with a pyramidal roof to emphasise the centre of the block. This main block was T-shaped on plan with a long forecourt. Both the front entrance block and the main range had portals with archivolt arches rising from square squat piers with heavy bracketed cornices above. The Italianate decoration included arched windows treated either as continuous arcades or twinned, or in groups of three as in the gable ends of the main block, modillion bracketed eaves cornices, balconettes, and octagonal lanterns and lunettes where the roofs of the cross wings intersected with the main roof. The decoration is similar to that used for the virtually contemporary buildings at Saltaire.

### **36. YORKSHIRE BANKING CO. MARKET STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1850

Demolished 1930

Probably Bradford's first purpose-built bank with any architectural pretensions.

### **37. POLICE HOUSE, PARLIAMENT STREET, WELTON, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1850

Grid reference SE 958 273

Illustration No. lxxxvii

Unlike all their previous police houses, the Welton lock-up was an essay in the Gothic style probably because of the awkwardness of the plot which would have made a symmetrical, Classically-inspired building virtually impossible.

The narrow plot meant that the building ran at right angles to Parliament Street with a gable just one bay wide facing the street. The side elevation had a similar gable running at ninety degrees to the main block, with an attractive porch with a Gothic doorway and mini-buttresses set back but facing the street. Both gables had pairs of Tudor-Gothic windows with ashlar surrounds at ground and first floor.

As at Sproatley, the cells were in a single storey wing attached to the rear, though unlike the earlier Police Houses this has its own separate access and prisoners did not have to be taken through the main hallway of the house. The accommodation also provided stables and a large yard at the rear of the plot. As built, the house differs from the plan in that an extra window is squeezed into the side elevation to let more light into the ground floor parlour. East Riding of Yorkshire County Record Office, QAP 5/77.



### **38. COMPETITION ENTRY; THE GREAT EXHIBITION, LONDON**

Entered 1850                      Unexecuted

*The Builder* reported that Lockwood and Mawson were amongst the many practices which entered the competition for the Great Exhibition without success.

### **39. SHOPS AND OFFICES, KIRKGATE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1850                      Demolished

Built for C Rhodes. Facing the street were two shops, the smallest with horseshoe-shaped counters and a spiral staircase. The larger opened out into an adjoining showroom to the rear with large windows. The frontages were identical with central recessed entrance lobbies with windows to the side and the rear of both buildings had curious curved walls. West Yorkshire Archives, Bradford, Building Plan ref. 28

### **40. ST OSWALD'S CHURCH, GUISELEY, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Restoration 1850              Grid reference SE 194 422

Church dating from Norman times and with thirteenth century south transept. Lockwood and Mawson restored the building, and this may have included the provision of a clerestorey.

### **41. BARNSELY UNION WORKHOUSE, GAWBER ROAD, BARNSELY, SOUTH YORKSHIRE**

Built 1851                      Demolished                      Illustration No. xcv

Competition winning Italianate workhouse design comprising front entrance range housing offices and casual wards and a main T-shaped block behind. The main range probably included wards, schoolrooms, work rooms, dining hall and kitchen, with workshops, laundries etc. behind and a separate infirmary beyond. Extended in the 1880s and 1920s then demolished and rebuilt as Barnsley General Hospital in the late twentieth century.

### **42. LISTERHILLS INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL, THORNTON ROAD, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1851                      Demolished

Lockwood and Mawson's plan for the building of a new chapel and schools for the Independent Congregationalists at Lister Hills, off Thornton Road in Bradford, was chosen from 'several designs' (*The Builder*, 1851, p629). The schools and chapel were capable of accommodating 900 worshippers and scholars, and seem to have been formed as an off-shoot of the influential Horton Lane Chapel. The building was described as 'of the geometric decorated period' and was therefore an extremely early use of a Gothic style for the Nonconformists religions.



#### **43. HULL WORKHOUSE, ANLABY ROAD, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1851-2

Grid Reference TA 084 289

Illustration No. xcvi

Italianate workhouse commission won in competition in 1851 and completed the following year. Forty-four sets of drawings were submitted, and not surprisingly it took the Committee five days to sift through the plans and decide on the winner. The front entrance range ran parallel to Anlaby Road and housed the offices and casual wards. Behind was the main building with Master's Office, male and female wards, school and workrooms, dining hall and kitchen. Parallel with the main building were the workshops and laundries together with a chapel capable of seating up to 400 people. Typically the sexes were segregated with males to the west and females to the east. The boys' school was in the front west wing of the main building with the girls' school in the corresponding east wing. These overlooked the boys' and girls' wards respectively. The men's and women's wards were to the rear of the main block and flanked the dining room and chapel. The accommodation also included an infirmary which was housed in a separate rectangular block with short recessed end wings overlooking a number of segregated courtyards. The building was of red brick with stone dressings, and the centre of the main range included a tympanum to house the Seal of the Corporation of the Poor. Similar layout to the Sculcoates and Bradford workhouses. The cost of the building was £9461 10s, and it could accommodate 753 inmates and vagrants.

#### **44. SALT'S MILL, SALTAIRE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1851-3

Grid reference SE 142 382

Illustration No. xxxix, xl

Massive integrated worsted mill, the nucleus of the planned model village for Titus Salt, designed with Sir William Fairbairn as consultant engineer. The spine of the mill was a large five-storey warehouse 25 large bays long with an end block at right angles to the rest which had the loading doors directly onto the Leeds - Liverpool Canal. The wool and hair were sorted in the warehouse before being carried into the adjacent western shed to be washed, dried and finally combed. The mill proper was at the opposite end of the warehouse to the canal and formed a 'T' shape with the warehouse. This too was five storeys high but also had a basement which was used for spinning, whilst warping and weaving were carried out in the second (eastern) shed. The original complex was completed by a range of offices which ran parallel with the lane down from the main road (which would become Victoria Road).

Fire-proof construction using hollow blocks (as promoted by Fairbairn) which also helped improve ventilation and reduced the weight of the arched ceilings. The boiler house was detached, with one giant flue 250 feet high and the boilers sunk below ground to allow the tipping of coal directly from an adjacent railway siding. The chimney had 'Green and Twibell's Patent Fuel Economisers' which helped to reduce 'annoying effluvium', a cause promoted by Titus Salt. The mill produced more power than the output of all the remaining water-powered mills in the entire textile district put together and had its own gas-works. Drive shafts were hidden within the floor structure, with vertical linkages through specially designed holes in the brick vaulted floors to reduce the risk of accidents. The mill had 11.5 acres of floor area with two pairs of steam engines producing 1250 horse power and powering 1200 looms (at a time when the largest mills in the area had only 6-700 looms). At its peak,



Saltaire Mills employed 3,200 people and was said to produce 30,000 yards of cloth per day.

The T-shaped form of the mill paid homage to the founder but was also a perfectly efficient use of the space, allowing a long principal elevation of 545ft to the railway. The construction of the office range parallel to the warehouse spine also gave the opportunity for another principal facade to the road. The main frontage of the mill however faced the railway and was a symmetrical composition of sixty bays. The middle fifth of the frontage housed the most decoration with two square towers with belvederes and two adjoining three-bay projections which housed the high arched windows to allow views of the huge steam engines. In between the towers and engine rooms were six central bays which at ground floor level had three segmental-headed carriage entrances. The towers housed the toilets, with similar facilities in the slightly projecting end bays of the facade. The roof structure was remarkably advanced with cast iron struts with wrought iron rods which, unlike the floors, below did not require decorative cast iron columns for support. The resultant huge undivided space was considered to be the largest 'room' in the world at the time.

The warehouse, which was only easily visible from within the mill complex, was 25 bays long and lacked the architectural pretension of the more visible parts of the complex. In the roof was a 70,000 gallon water tank and beneath the eastern shed (used for weaving) was another reservoir capable of holding half a million gallons which was intended to store rainwater collected from the roofs. This block was four storeys high and 23 bays long, whilst the opposite combing shed was one bay shorter and single storey. Both had roofs designed to take advantage of north light. Attached to the east elevation of the combing shed were washing, drying and picking rooms with the packing room housed in a four storey block.

The opposite end of the spine to the main mill itself was a five-storey block of twelve bays long and six deep which faced the canal. This had two loading bays topped by segmental pediments, and the lowest storey had seven large round-arched openings to allow loading direct from the canal.

The architectural decoration of the mill employed a variety of features employed by the architects in their virtually contemporary Italianate workhouses in Bradford and Hull. These included belvedere towers, which, as in the workhouses, served a practical purpose in ventilating the toilets beneath. This device allowed the facilities to be located in a convenient place (not tucked away out of site). The window head treatments were either cambered or had rusticated rock-faced voussoirs or archivolts with keystones. The office and entrance block to the mills was designed in similar fashion to the entrance blocks at the Bradford and Hull workhouses. Despite the steeply sloping ground, the facade was symmetrical and of twenty bays, the central three having a giant portal with a round arched head and a tall turret with a segmental pediment flanked by scrolls. The whole block had a deep bracketed cornice, rusticated pilaster strips at the quoins, string courses and plinth.

#### **45. PHASE 1 HOUSING, SALTAIRE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1851-4

Grid reference SE 138 380

Illustration No. xli - xliii

Lockwood and Mawson's original plan for the village envisaged around 700 houses with gardens built on wide streets together with a range of public buildings, squares and recreation



grounds. By 1854, Lockwood had revised the plans in his report to the General Board of Health and consequently slightly more workers (9,000 or 10,000) would be accommodated and sites for a church, baths and washhouses, a Mechanics Institute, hotel, covered market, schools and almshouses, dining room, music room and even an abattoir were to be provided. This plan was again revised during the 23 years of construction, and ultimately more houses were built though they housed fewer people than envisaged. Most of the public buildings, with the exception of the market and hotel were ultimately constructed and all designed by Lockwood and Mawson.

The village was laid out in a grid-plan formation with the principal road named, appropriately enough, Victoria Road. This led from the main Bradford to Keighley road down to the mill and was, from the outset, intended to be the principal thoroughfare along which the majority of the public buildings and shops would be positioned. The western-most street, which ultimately housed the higher ranking officials of the works, was named after Victoria's Consort, Albert. When built this was undeveloped on the western side, and so the houses of the most important workers enjoyed views along the open countryside of the Aire Valley. The rest of the streets were named after members of the Salt family, with the exception of two streets either side of The Institute which were named after Lockwood and Mawson themselves.

The first phase of the housing was complete by 1854, and 1000 people occupied the fourteen shops and 163 houses and boarding houses. It consisted of twelve rows of parallel terraces south of the railway line, with a wider road, Caroline Street, forming the southern boundary. Most of the housing was two-bedroomed workmen's houses, and largely devoid of external ornament. The houses on William Henry Street and George Street were larger and more ornate, being intended for overlookers rather than workmen for whom the smaller houses were designed. Most overlooker's houses had three bedrooms, though in mid-terrace were taller houses with four to six bedrooms for large families. Externally, they were on wider plots than the workmen's houses with front gardens as well as rear yards. They were also architecturally more exuberant with round arched ground floor windows with dressed stone heads in a similar Italianate style to the mill itself.

All the streets had taller houses at each end with arched ground floor window- and door-heads and overhanging bracketed eaves and stringcourses. These buildings on William Henry and George Streets were three storey boarding houses; whilst those in similar locations on the others streets were two storeys but of more generous proportions than the standard workmen's houses. These higher two-storey houses were originally Saltaire's only back-to-backs, though as they had open elevations on two sides they were far superior to those found in the cities. This arrangement at the end of the streets was a conscious element of Lockwood and Mawson's designs and houses were orientated in this way to prevent views across the back yards from the principal streets. This first phase of housing also included a row of shops with accommodation above facing Victoria Road.



#### **46. SAINT GEORGE'S HALL, HALL INGS, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1851-3

Grid reference SE 164 329

Illustration No. lv

Competition-winning design erected following the raising of £16,000 from public subscription. The St George's Hall would be the first major public hall built in the rapidly growing towns of West Yorkshire. The hall was intended to provide a place of entertainment for the working man without the temptation of drink. The building was a giant temple sat on a podium, though its treatment was not so severely Neoclassical as Lockwood's earlier Greek Revival buildings in Hull. The columns of Giant Corinthian Order were therefore attached and the whole was sat on a large rusticated basement with arches with vermiculated voussoirs and giant carved heads in the keystones. The basement of the St George's Hall also included a mezzanine marked externally by a chunky moulding which follows the line of the imposts of the arches on the front elevation.

The Giant Order of columns stretched for virtually the full height of the hall within. On the front, six engaged columns supported the broad pediment, and these central five bays were set forward to form a portico. Rows of similar columns ran the length of the building on the side elevations. The wall-spaces between the columns were decorated with panels and windows and the use of windows with rusticated arches at the first floor front, and higher windows on the side made the columns appear as structural elements open behind. Beneath these windows were wider oblong windows, the heads of which marked the position of the internal balconies. Internally the Hall was similar to the chapels and other halls designed by Lockwood, though the ceiling was not vaulted or coffered, but panelled and ornamented with flowers, fruit, musical instruments, emblems and figures. Like many of Lockwood's chapel interiors, the rear wall had an apse-like curve behind the stage, and there were balconies on three sides echoing the great chapel interiors. The interior was decorated in light shades to further appeal to the masses, though the ravages of smoke necessitated a redecoration twenty years later, again designed by Lockwood and Mawson. The new colours were based on the 'Pompeian-style' with red, maroon, black, blue-grey, pale green, bronze and gold extensively used. The Pompeian red walls were divided into panels with fawn lines and in the centre of each panel was a wreath enclosing a blue ground, on which the names of the great composers were inscribed in gold lettering.

#### **47. LEEDS TOWN HALL COMPETITION ENTRY, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Entry 1852

Unexecuted

Competition in 1850 which attracted 16 competitors with Sir Charles Barry the assessor. Won by Cuthbert Brodrick with Lockwood and Mawson placed second and Young and Lovatt of Wolverhampton third.

#### **48. MORNINGTON VILLAS, MANNINGHAM, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1852-74

Grid Reference SE 155 344

The gradual deterioration of the environment in central Bradford meant that as transport improved, the middle classes could move out of the centre and into areas such as



Manningham. The initial layout of the land at right angles to Manningham Lane was probably undertaken by John Dixon, but the majority of the substantial and lofty semi-detached villas were by top Bradford architects including initially Lockwood and Mawson, and later architects such as T.C. Hope. The houses designed by Lockwood and Mawson were generally of Italianate or Gothic design.

#### **49. SALT'S WAREHOUSE, LEEDS ROAD, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1853

Demolished 1960s

Wool warehouse designed for Titus Salt and virtually contemporary with the architects' work for the same patron at Saltaire. The Bradford warehouse, together with the nearby and virtually contemporary Milligan and Forbes Warehouse designed by Andrews and Delaunay, set the standard for warehouse and other commercial buildings in the centre of Bradford. Salt's Warehouse was large and like most Bradford warehouse plots, had a canted corner. It incorporated typical Italianate detailing and had a rusticated base with the top storey treated as a continuous Corinthian arcade beneath a deep bracketed cornice. The building was rightly considered to be one of the finest warehouse buildings of the period, and although it was demolished in the 1960s, its influence can be detected in many of Bradford's subsequent buildings.

#### **50. DEWSBURY UNION WORKHOUSE, HEALDS ROAD, STAINCLIFFE, DEWSBURY, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1853-4

Grid reference SE 223 228

Illustration No. xcvi

Small workhouse with accommodation for 310 inmates. The plan was similar to their larger workhouses (eg Hull) however, with a front entrance range, main T-shaped range, and a further range beyond. Although all of the buildings have been demolished (with the possible exception of a building which may have been the industrial school), the original plans appear to have included a separate infirmary together with the school. It is probable that the infirmary was housed in the rear-most block of the complex as at Sculcoates and Hull; whilst the industrial school appears to have been in a block at right angles to the main range at the north of the site. The buildings were in the Italianate style of all their workhouses of the late 1840s and 1850s.

#### **51. PHASE 2 HOUSING, SALTIRE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1854-7

Grid Reference SE 138 379

Illustration No. xli

Phase two of the housing at Saltaire consisted of five streets of workmen's houses south of Caroline Street. Ornament was restricted to the end houses, with the rest left plain. This block of housing was finished by 1857, and, like the first phase, had rows of houses running down the hill.



## **52. WORKERS' DINING ROOM, SALTAIRE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1854

Grid Reference SE 139 381

Built to provide cheap meals for workers who could not return home for lunch, the dining room also served as chapel (until the Congregational Church was built) and schoolroom (until purpose-built schools were erected). A simple Italianate building with a seven bay front with sash windows divided by pilasters supporting a modillion cornice. The central entrance was topped by a fancy segmental pediment with the Salt arms within.

## **53. BETHESDA CHAPEL, 36 PECKOVER STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1855

Demolished

Lockwood and Mawson drew up plans in 1855 for the erection of Bethesda Chapel for the Wesleyan Reform Movement. The chapel was not officially consecrated for worship until 1870, and then only served the local community for ten years. It was taken over by the Salvation Army until 1886 and then became the base of Independent Labour Church, the party being formed here. It was then bought by Pilkingtons Glass who extensively altered the building.

## **54. FERNCLIFFE, CALVERLEY, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1855

Demolished

Illustration No. lxxxix

Pedimented Italianate villa set on the summit of a cliff amongst luxuriant ferns and bracken. The house had a deep modillion cornice, and a projecting central bay on the garden front, the roof of which acted as a balcony for the principal bedroom. The windows had round-arched heads with keystones. The side elevations had Ionic pilasters, though otherwise the house was relatively plain. Inside was a grand entrance hall with coffered ceiling and sumptuous drawing room (with the bay window), dining room, billiard room and the range of boudoirs and other rooms becoming of the house of the former Mayor of Bradford, Briggs Priestley. In the grounds were extensive outbuildings, stables, summerhouses, greenhouses and a kitchen garden also designed by Lockwood and Mawson. The partnership also provided a forbidding Gothic gatelodge with oriel windows at the foot of the long drive which snaked to the house from the Calverley Road.

## **55. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BRADFORD ROAD, STANNINGLEY, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1855

Grid reference SE 217 344

Small rectangular chapel in the Early English Gothic style. It employed the motif of three grouped lancets (the centre one the tallest) which had been used on the St John's Anglican Chapel at Beverley. Beneath was the entrance with a vestigial porch with a steep gable and twinned doors with lancet heads and a niche above. The sides had paired lancets separated by simple buttresses, and there were also angle buttresses with steeply pitched caps. The



building was of local stone with an attractive 'fish-scale' welsh slate roof. Although now in commercial use, the exterior of the building survives remarkably unaltered.

## **56. NORTH BIERLEY UNION WORKHOUSE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1855

Grid reference SE 124 311

Illustration No. xcvi

Lockwood and Mawson beat fourteen other competitors to win the commission for the erection of their second workhouse in Bradford. The North Bierley Workhouse not surprisingly echoes the Italianate style and many of the features of the workhouse for the Bradford Union. Again there was a front entrance lodge with an archway through, the board room above it at first floor and a cupola above which provided additional light to the room. The windows with impost strings, vermiculated voussoirs to the archway and eaves cornice were all typical of the Italianate features on the practice's workhouse, mill and public buildings.

The main workhouse range was again T-shaped. The front facade had a broad central gable flanked by three-storey towers and with a pilastered doorway. The leg of the T to the rear was of two storeys and typically housed the dining room and kitchen. The rear range was of two storeys and eighteen bays long, the penultimate bays and the four central ones breaking forward with pedimented gables. Attached was a tapering, octagonal brick workhouse chimney with a cornice crown further emphasising the similarity between the practice's mill and workhouse buildings. Now known as Thornton View Hospital.

## **57. COMPETITION ENTRY, INFANTRY BARRACKS, LONDON**

Entry 1856

unexecuted

The firm was one of 89 entrants in a competition to design a new infantry barracks, the drawings for which were displayed in the House of Commons. Lockwood and Mawson's design was placed second behind that of George Morgan and they were awarded the second premium of £100.

## **58. GOVERNMENT RIFLE FACTORY, ENFIELD LOCK, LONDON**

Built 1856

Demolished

## **59. RAILWAY STATION, SALTAIRE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1856

Demolished

Small, picturesque Italianate railway station with similar detailing to the mill and the first phase housing in the village. Round arched windows with keystones and a continuous drip mould ran around the building. The entrance was through the middle of a canted bay set beneath a central gable.



## **60. REDEVELOPMENT OF NORTHGATE, HALIFAX, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1857-8

Grid reference SE 092 253

Illustration Nos. liii, liv

In 1857, John Crossley, a great friend of Titus Salt, commissioned the architects to design a number of buildings as part of his redevelopment scheme for the Northgate area of central Halifax, an idea conceived by Crossley whilst he was Mayor of the town from 1850-1. The principal building was the Mechanics' Institute which had a ground floor base of rusticated stonework which supported a *piano nobile* with giant Corinthian columns in antis, and intricate carving in the tympana of the arched first floor windows. Inside was a large hall with Corinthian pilasters and a coffered ceiling. The six storey White Swan Hotel was in a similar Italianate style also had a rusticated stonework base but this time pedimented windows were all topped by a substantial cornice. Other, similar buildings included the Halifax Joint Stock Bank with arched windows and Corinthian columns, and a range of other warehouses and commercial buildings characterised by vermiculated masonry, aediculated windows and heavy cornices. A central site was however left free to house a new town hall. Crossley offered to help the Council financially if it agreed to build a town hall, and he furnished them with a design for an Italianate building topped by a dome also produced by Lockwood and Mawson. This was never built as Crossley's adversary Edward Akroyd submitted a counter design by his 'pet' architect George Gilbert Scott. The Council however ultimately decided on a design by Charles Barry who had been invited to comment and then to design the new building.

## **61. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, PROVIDENCE PLACE, CLECKHEATON, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1857-9

Grid reference SE 191 257

Illustration No. lxvi

Showy Italianate chapel with a powerful facade with an open loggia of five bays formed by a Giant Corinthian arcade. A unique design demonstrating the increasing 'debasement' of earlier strict Neoclassical designs. The unfluted columns with rich capitals, the V-jointed vermiculated masonry used for the antae, the moulded arches with keystones, and the modillioned pediment were however borrowed directly from the St George's Hall designs. The elaborate scrolled tablet in the middle of the pediment also echoed the swags and garlands of the St Georges Hall. The side elevation in contrast was plain with decoration restricted to the window openings. The sharp slope of the site away from Bradford Road allowed the opportunity to provide schools and other accommodation neatly tucked beneath the main chapel.

## **62. PHASE 3 HOUSING, SALTAIRE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1857-61

Grid Reference SE 137 378

Illustration No. xli

By 1861, the houses on Constance Street and Shirley Street were completed. These rows had gabled pavilions at their ends with triple-light first floor windows with arched heads. Inside, the accommodation consisted of living room, kitchen, half-cellar and three bedrooms. The completion of this phase brought the population of Saltaire to 2510 in 447 occupied houses with another 34 houses recently completed and not yet occupied.



Unlike the first two housing phases, the third phase consisted of housing running with the contours. The standard of accommodation provided by the houses was also improved. Even the 'improved' workmen's houses now included the round arched Italianate detailing of the earlier better class housing. Some of the workmen's houses also had three bedrooms. The reorientation of the housing also meant that as the site for residential accommodation came closer to the main road, it provided a better advertisement for the business than rows of houses running down the hill would have achieved.

### **63. COMPETITION ENTRY, LEEDS UNION WORKHOUSE, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Entry 1858                      Unexecuted

Lockwood and Mawson were beaten into second place by the Leeds architects Perkins and Backhouse with William Hill (also of Leeds) third. They were awarded £50 for their design submitted using a postage stamp for the motto.

### **64. WOOL WAREHOUSE, CHURCH BANK, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Approved 1858                      Unexecuted or demolished

Extension of wool warehouse designed for T. Mills and approved by the borough in 1858, but presumably superseded four years later by plans for five warehouses on the same site and for the same client. West Yorkshire Archives, Bradford, Building Plan 2694.

### **65. WOOL MILL, LUMB LANE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1858-61                      Grid reference SE 156 339                      Illustration No. lxxviii

Large wool mill designed for James Drummond. It comprised a three storey warehouse, five storey spinning mill, three storey spinning shed, engine house and chimney. The warehouse block fronted Lumb Lane to make an appropriately prestigious statement, and was linked behind by the spinning shed to the five storey block (probably added later) which was itself linked to the three storey engine house. The octagonal coronet chimney with its console bracketed crown was the principal feature of the building, though the whole complex incorporated Italianate detailing to the windows and had pedimented gable ends, all slightly more lavish on the roadside warehouse. Projecting stair towers with belvederes and spiky pyramidal roofs in the Saltaire fashion were also provided. The building followed the 'fire-proof' building techniques of Salt's Mill with cast iron columns and double skin floors; the walls were in fact lined with bricks made from clay excavated from the site during construction. Like many Bradford mills, it used timber for the roof structure; in this case, a sophisticated system of elliptical arched laminated trusses which allowed the roof space to be used as a huge and extraordinarily elegant wool-sorting room.



## **66. METHLEY HALL, METHLEY, NEAR WAKEFIELD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Improvements 1858-67

Demolished 1963

Substantial mansion dating from the fifteenth century which was improved and altered by Lockwood and Mawson during the period of occupation by Titus Salt and his family between 1858 and 1867. The architects altered and improved the house and constructed hothouses and a conservatory for Salt to enjoy his hobby of cultivating rare flowers and plants.

## **67. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, SALTAIRE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1859

Grid reference SE 138 381

Illustration No. xlv

Work began on the Congregational Church in 1856 and it was completed three years later to coincide with the completion of the first housing phase in Saltaire. Set on a large open site directly opposite the mill. The church cost £16,000 which was financed entirely by Titus Salt. It was an extremely expensive building which seated only 600 worshippers (rarely including Salt himself).

The church is one of the country's finest Nonconformist places of worship erected in the nineteenth century. An apparently unique design with a beautifully proportioned Corinthian portico of seven bays stood on a podium of five steps at the east end. These supported a deep dentilled and modillioned entablature which in turn supported a domed tower. The tower had as its base a Greek key frieze, and a podium of four clock faces and four oculi separated by console brackets. These then supported a belfry of eight further Corinthian columns (this time engaged) which held up the lead dome. The belfry windows had attractive iron grilles. The nave of the church was divided into bays by Corinthian pilasters. Between these were large square-headed windows with eared architraves and margin panes. The west end was pedimented and had a small apse again flanked by pilasters with a blocked window in the centre. The sloping ground meant that a rock-faced basement could be created under the north and west ends which housed the vestry.

The interior was especially fine with an elaborate segmental vaulted ceiling with cross vaults by the side windows. The bays of the nave were subdivided by attached Corinthian columns of dark blue scagliola above which was a dentilled and modillioned entablature. The east and west ends were each of three bays and subdivided by pilasters. The centre bay at the west end rose to a segmental arch concealing the apse behind which housed the organ and also gave access to the basement vestry. At the east end was a similar arched centre bay, but there was also a small gallery above the vestibule for Salt and his family. Other features worthy of note were the timber window reveals decorated to give the appearance of marble and the wonderful ormolu and gilt chandeliers.

Attached to the south wall was the Salt Mausoleum. This was square on plan with a domed roof supported on Corinthian pilasters. The panels between had arched heads with radiating decoration to the tympana. Inside was a central Roman altar with lions heads and festoons topped by an urn.



## **68. PENISTONE UNION WORKHOUSE, PENISTONE, SOUTH YORKSHIRE**

Built 1859

Grid reference SE 244 039

Illustration No. ciii

Winning design in a competition which attracted twelve competitors. Small workhouse housing just 130 inmates divided into six classes and with an entrance building and infirmary. Typically in the Italianate style, but with a radically different plan form to that usually adopted by the practice in their workhouse designs. Presumably because of the small size of the institution, the architects based the plan form of the main building on the radial workhouse plans of Sampson Kempthorn developed in the 1830s. The building was therefore cruciform in shape with a central hub top-lit by a small lantern. The front wing was gabled and had a small bell turret, whilst the side wings, housing male and female inmates, were hipped and had mill-like sanitary towers at their ends. Unlike Kempthorn's plans, the Penistone workhouse had central corridors with rooms either side. The rear wing housed the kitchens and dining room. The infirmary was in a separate block parallel with the horizontal bar of the cross to the north west, whilst the receiving ward and entrance lodge were similarly oriented to the north east. Unusually there was no entrance archway, the lodge being set parallel to the site entrance. All the buildings were of two storeys of sandstone 'brick' and slate with the exception of a male casual ward at right angles to the other buildings which was a single storey structure.

## **69. COMPETITION ENTRY, CORN EXCHANGE, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Entered 1860

Unexecuted

Design awarded third premium behind Leeds architects Cuthbert Brodrick and William Hill.

## **70. ST THOMAS' CHURCH, ST THOMAS STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1860

Demolished

Church to accommodate 750 worshippers built at a cost of £2500.

## **71. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, HORTON LANE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1860-2

Demolished

Illustration No. lxxvii

Design successful amongst thirteen competitors in the competition for the new Horton Lane Congregational Church and school. The most important of Bradford's Nonconformist churches, nicknamed 'Bradford's Cathedral of Nonconformity' because it was patronised by the leading figures in the town.

The building was described as 'Elizabethan' in character though from surviving engravings it is clear that the majority of the building's features were strongly influenced by Renaissance Italy and France. The facade had five bays, those at each end forming square towers topped by cupolas of decidedly French character with small lucarnes set in them. Very free use of



rusticated masonry was made with blocks appearing in the columns of the porch and in the paired pilasters which emphasised the sides of the towers, and with rusticated voussoirs to the ground floor windows in a manner reminiscent of Batty Langley. The first-floor windows were more obviously Renaissance-inspired being topped by open segmental pediments. The occasional spiky finial and a strapwork motif above the porch are the only recognisable 'Jacobethan' features. Next door was the school which still survives. This has a pair of Dutch gables, and many of the details, particularly the window surrounds, and columns with inset rusticated blocks are similar to those on the chapel.

## **72. COMPETITION ENTRY, WESLEYAN CHAPEL, SNAITH, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Entered 1861                      Grid Reference SE 645 221

*The Builder* reported that Lockwood and Mawson had been successful in the competition for the design of a Wesleyan Chapel at Snaith in 1861. The building was completed the next year and followed the templar form with a five bay front of Roman Ionic pilasters supporting a modillioned pediment containing the datestone. Three round arched entrances occupied the central bays. The chapel was of red brick with stone detailing including pedimented windows to the first floor. The side elevations were relatively plain. Inside was a gallery, and the internal fittings survive today.

## **73. COMPETITION ENTRY, GENERAL INFIRMARY, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Entered 1861                      Unexecuted

Lockwood and Mawson's design was awarded first premium having impressed the building committee's advisor, Mr Dobson of Newcastle, and the Medical Commissioners. However the Committee decided to change the site and ultimately chose Gilbert Scott as the architect for their new building.

## **74. THEATRE, GREAT GEORGE STREET, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Designed 1861                      Unexecuted or demolished

Theatre designed for W.S. Thorne to seat 2000 people. Described in *The Building News* as a 'pretty brick and stone structure', it was intended to have two tiers of boxes, pit and gallery and was due for completion by Whitsuntide 1862. (*Building News* 27/9/1861 p792).

## **75. COMPETITION ENTRY, TOWN HALL, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Entry 1861                      Unexecuted                      Illustration No. lix

Lockwood and Mawson's design under the motto 'Experientia Docet' was placed second behind that of Lockwood's former pupil Cuthbert Brodrick, Green and Delville of London were third. The competition attracted 40 competitors and was assessed by Sir William Tite.

The architects prepared designs in Classical and Gothic style. Two variations of the front



elevation of the Classical design were proposed with variations on the front entrance, fenestration and balustrade. One design had a Giant Order of Corinthian columns for the upper two storeys, whilst the other had columns at ground and first floor and pilasters at the second floor. Both schemes had a seven bay front, the largest central bay being topped by a coffered dome above a belvedere tower. Both designs had a mixture of Serliana windows and others with segmental pedimented heads. The Gothic design had similar proportions with arched windows, the first floor with Geometric tracery. The heads had polychromatic detailing. The front entrance was topped by a striking clocktower in the Flemish Cloth Hall style. The Gothic version had a steeply pitched roof with a crested ridge and an openwork parapet.

Two plan forms were also prepared. They apparently incorporated existing Magistrates and Sessions Court buildings at the rear. The plans were similar though one involved retaining an existing Council Chamber on the Ground Floor and had no separate side entrance. The presumably preferred Design No 1 had cellars in the basement, vestibule entrance hall and grand staircase with officials offices at ground floor. On the first floor were a fine Council Chamber, reception/corporation chamber and Town Clerks Offices, with Mayor's living accommodation above.

Although unexecuted, elements of the plans strongly influenced later buildings by the practice particularly the Wool Exchange and Town Hall in Bradford. Kingston upon Hull Record Office, Building Plan TLC 37/3/13.

## **76. CHRIST CHURCH, CHURCH SQUARE, HARROGATE, NORTH YORKSHIRE**

Alterations 1862      Grid reference SE 312 554

Lockwood and Mawson added transepts, chancel, organ loft and vestries to the Christ Church which had been built in 1831.

## **77. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, VICTORIA AVENUE, HARROGATE, NORTH YORKSHIRE**

Built 1862      Grid reference SE 302 551      Illustration No. lxxii

In the late First-Pointed Gothic style with lancet windows and staged angle buttresses. Unusually the tower rose at the south-west corner of the building making it the first asymmetrical church with which either partner had been involved. The 130 ft. tower was topped by an octagonal turret and spire of continental appearance with lucarnes on four faces of the spire. The nave of the church faced gable-end on to the parkland opposite and originally housed the entrance through a pair of arched doorways. This arrangement was typical of most of the partnership's Gothic churches. Above was a large west window with geometrical tracery and an apse running from the east wall of the nave.

The elevation to Victoria Avenue was unique in the designs of the partnership with six identical gables facing the street giving an almost industrial feel to the building. Each had a tall arched window with geometrical tracery separated by staged buttresses. The kneelers



to each gable were carved with the heads of various Nonconformist worthies. The arches of the window were formed of alternate voussoirs of fair faced and rock faced Yorkshire sandstone. The roof of Welsh slate with bands of slate laid in a fish-scale pattern was typical of many of the practice's Gothic designs. Attached to the church was a Sunday school with a large hall and three classrooms.

## **78. WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH, OXFORD STREET, HARROGATE, NORTH YORKSHIRE**

Built 1862

Grid reference SE 302 555

Illustration No. lxx

Competition-winning Classical chapel to seat 1000 within a budget of £3500, after initial scheme was felt to be too expensive. It had a simple, but well-proportioned five bay front with a Giant Order of Corinthian pilasters at the ends which acted as *antae*, whilst the centre three bays were divided by attached columns. These supported a quite simple modillioned pediment with a typically flowery keystone in the centre. The windows and doors have heads with and without moulded keystones, whilst the end bays had aediculated windows at first-floor level, and simple flat arched windows on the ground floor. The base had channel-jointed stonework. The architectural detailing was restricted to window surrounds on the side elevations. Inside the chapel were galleries on three sides and basement classrooms, vestry meeting rooms and caretaker's accommodation.

## **79. COMPETITION ENTRY, BAPTIST CHAPEL, WOODHOUSE LANE, LEEDS**

Entry 1862

Unexecuted

Following a report in *The Builder* that Paull and Ayliffe had won the competition for a new Baptist Chapel on Woodhouse Lane in Leeds, Lockwood and Mawson themselves wrote to the journal informing them that they had been awarded the first premium of £20. The chapel was not however built.

## **80. CARLISLE WORKHOUSE, FUSEHILL STREET, CARLISLE, CUMBRIA**

Built 1862-4

Grid reference NY 409 556

Illustration No. ic - ci

Competition-winning design judged the best of fifteen entries by the architectural advisors James Stewart and John Hodgson who independently chose the same design as the workhouse committee. Although happy with the plans, the Board sought to make economies, by removing as much ornament as possible to bring the cost down from £10,450 to £9,770. The architects did not however feel that omitting window details, bell turrets and piers would bring the cost down significantly. They then sought to reduce the length of the main block by two bays. Lockwood pointed out the difficulties this would cause but agreed that the firm would superintend the building for five percent of the cost, though the Board had to employ their own Clerk of Works. He further agreed that no travelling expenses would be claimed. Lockwood also made suggestions about the site plan, and finally the committee resolved to adopt the 'ornamental' plan but omitting the bell turret at the entrance.

The plan form was essentially that developed by the architects over a number of years. The



lodge was reached via a drive. This had an archway through and housed board room, offices and waiting rooms. Rather than being parallel to this building, however, the facade of the main T-shaped range instead ran at right angles, with the separate infirmary parallel to the entrance block. The buildings therefore enclosed three sides of a courtyard.

The front range was of three storeys, with a dual-use dining room/chapel, and kitchens and stores forming the single-storey leg of the T to the rear. The central part of the front facade housed offices and stores, with the wings accommodating men to the west and women to the east. Both wings had a central corridor arrangement lit by light wells and large windows in the ends of the gables. On the ground floor were day rooms, with the bedridden rooms nearest the centre which had bathrooms in the bases of the towers flanking the entrance. Toilet facilities for the able-bodied were provided in single-storey end wings. On the upper floor were bedrooms including rooms for aged, married couples. Staircases were located in the towers flanking the central block and in the penultimate bays which also projected. This meant all the different classes of inmate from able bodied men to disorderly women had their own stairs between day rooms and bedrooms and could be kept well segregated. Toilet facilities on the upper floors were provided in the central towers. This was an identical arrangement to the one employed by the firm in its mill buildings.

To the rear of the dining room and kitchen were single storey workshops to the west, and laundries and washhouses to the east. Beyond these were a gig house and further stores. The male court was to the west of the dining room wing, and was split down the middle by a toilet block to form a separate court for children nearest to the building. On the east side, this was replicated to keep apart disorderly and able-bodied women. The master's office had a bay window which looked directly into the disorderly women's yard.

## **81. WESLEYAN METHODIST CHAPEL, WARWICK GARDENS, LONDON**

Built 1863

Demolished c1927

Illustration No. lxxi

Substantial chapel built as part of a movement by the Wesleyans to spread into 'respectable localities'. Initially, following a competition, Searle, Son and Yelf procured tenders, but by the end of the year their plans had been substituted for Lockwood and Mawson's cheaper design.

The chapel had a simple rectangular plan form and a south-west tower. It was in the geometric Gothic style of the practice's later Gothic buildings and was built of red brick with black bands and Bath stone dressings and the typical Welsh slate roof with a fish scale pattern. The entrance was in the west front through a vestigial porch with shafted lancets. Inside was a timber arcade and galleries, and like many of their churches on restricted sites (and with small budgets), school rooms and a caretaker's flat were housed beneath the chapel. The chapel could seat 1100 and opened on 10 December 1863.



## **82. WOOL WAREHOUSES, CHURCH BANK, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Approved 1863      Probably unexecuted

Plan for five warehouses on similar site to those approved five years earlier and also for T. Mills. Each warehouse had four floors above a vaulted basement with a woolsorting room on the top floor lit by a lantern light. West Yorkshire Archives, Bradford, Building Plan 3430.

## **83. BATH AND WASH HOUSE, SALTAIRE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1863      Demolished 1894

Building described as 'vaguely Egyptian' in style housing two plunge baths, twenty four baths and a Turkish bath together with the most up-to-date washing and drying facilities. Built at a cost of £7000 apparently because Salt did not wish the village to have a dishevelled appearance with lines of washing strung everywhere.

## **84. MOUNT ROYD, MANNINGHAM, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1863-4      Grid reference: SE 154 347      Illustration No. lxxxvi

A terrace of eight paired High-Victorian town houses at right angles to Manningham Lane, accessed via a private road and with private enclosed gardens opposite. A true 'rus in urbe' development designed for a building club.

Three-storey houses (with basements) of local sandstone 'brick' and with ashlar dressings. Each pair of houses had steeply pitched and bargeboarded gabled ends containing two-storey bays with large, arched, plate-glass windows and pierced quatrefoil parapets. The top storey had French windows which accessed the roofs of the bays. In the recessed central bays, the first-floor windows were also French casements which accessed ornate cast-iron balconies. The treatment of the windows differed in the end pairs (nos 1 and 2, and 7 and 8) from those in the centre of the terrace. The four central houses had round-arched windows in the Franco-Italianate style, whilst the two end pairs had Gothic arched windows, staged buttresses in the centres of the elevations and fish-scale pattern slate roofs typical of the practice's Gothic designs. Mount Royd was also characterised by high quality ironwork detailing including attractive 'barley-sugar twist' cast-iron down pipes, area railings and gas lights.

## **85. WOOL EXCHANGE, MARKET STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1864      Grid reference SE 164 331      Illustration No. lvi-lviii

Winning design chosen from other shortlisted designs by Milnes and France, Paull and Ayliffe, W. & G. Audsley, W Burges, and R. N. Shaw, with Waterhouse, Street, Brodrick and Webb all withdrawing after a highly charged and controversial competition.

On an awkward triangular site, a clock tower occupied the narrow canted corner. The base of the tower was the principal entrance, and behind was a covered vestibule for outdoor



trading on fine days. The trading hall was the principal feature. This had an area of 600 square yards with an ambulatory of polished pink marble columns with capitals of excellently carved naturalistic foliage. These supported a balcony with a lively wrought iron balustrade, accessed from a fine internal stair. The full height hall had an attractive hammer-beam roof and clerestorey windows. The hall was roughly rectangular, but with an apse towards Hustlergate (then known as Old Market) which had a glazed screen behind. This was altered by Mawson and Hudson later in the century when an additional shop was added here (now itself removed). On the other three sides, the exchange was surrounded by shops on the Market Street elevation, and shops and a large newsroom on Bank Street where there was a second entrance. Above were offices, rooms and a library for the Chamber of Commerce. These could be accessed either from a stair off Hustlergate or from the Bank Street entrance.

The style of the building was described by the architects as 'Venetian Gothic...freely treated, and admitting great picturesqueness of effect without entailing heavy cost'. This refers to the detail for the outline looks more to the great Flemish Cloth Halls. The key architectural features are the arcades of single traceried windows (ground floor), twinned on the first floor and triple on the second all with similar detailing including alternate voussoirs of yellow and red sandstone to give the desired polychromatic effect. The pinnacled bartizans, open parapet balustrade and the three-stage tower provide the building's 'picturesqueness of effect'.

Statues of Bishop Blaize (the patron saint of Woolcombers) and King Edward (who granted Bradford's trading charter) occupy canopied niches on the side of the tower, whilst medallions in the spandrels of the ground floor arches represent Raleigh, Drake, Columbus, Cook, Anson, Cobden, Gladstone, Palmerston, Stephenson, Watt, Arkwright, Jacquard and of course, Sir Titus Salt.

## **86. GYMNASIUM, CHELTENHAM COLLEGE, CHELTENHAM, GLOUCESTERSHIRE**

Built 1864                      Grid reference SO 949 215

Picturesque Gothic building with broach spires and towers. Built of yellow brick but with polychromatic detailing.

## **87. SLING MILL, KIDDERMINSTER, WORCESTERSHIRE**

Built 1864                      Grid Reference Unknown

Extensive worsted mill for Thomas Lea built at a cost of £50,000. Four storey mill with attached warehouses, a 180 feet high chimney and a dining hall. The buildings made use of local building materials with red Staffordshire bricks for the walls and arches and strings of contrasting blue and white brick.

## **88. HOLMEFIELD, THORNES, WAKEFIELD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1864                      Grid reference SE 325 196                      Illustration No. lxxxiii

Remodelling of a substantial house built in the 1830s. The hand of Lockwood and Mawson



can be seen in the canted and square bays on the ground floor of the garden front, which were common to the practice's Italianate designs. The lofty triangular-arched sash windows and two-light Gothic window on the south west gable with geometrical tracery above also appear to date from Lockwood and Mawson's involvement.

## **89. LEEDS AND COUNTY BANK, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1864

Demolished

Illustration No. cvii

Early Italian Gothic bank of five bays and three storeys. The two bays at either end housed the bank entrance and separate entrance to the manager's residence upstairs. The central windows were treated as continuous arcades with moulded shafts. Venetian windows were placed immediately above the entrances with other windows with Venetian arched heads elsewhere.

## **90. EYE AND EAR HOSPITAL, HALLFIELD ROAD, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1864-5

Demolished

Pleasantly proportioned Gothic design, unique amongst the practice's otherwise Italianate hospital and workhouse buildings. Main frontage of five bays, each with a steeply pitched gable above. The central gable was larger than the others to demarcate the entrance which had a three-light oriel window above. A circular opening with geometrical tracery decorated the gable itself, and the other first floor windows were arched with similar tracery and small balconies.

## **91. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, RAMSHILL ROAD, SCARBOROUGH, NORTH YORKSHIRE**

Built 1864-8

Grid reference TA 041 877

Illustration No. lxxiii, lxxiv

Large church on Scarborough's South Cliff made possible through a large donation from Titus Salt who holidayed there. In a thirteenth century Gothic style with a tall corner steeple rising to 160ft, a high nave and transepts and single storey aisles. The wide nave with galleries at the rear showed how the Gothic plan form could be adapted to suit the needs of large congregations focussing on the pulpit. The aisles therefore originally served as access corridors running along the side of the pews which stretched the entire width of the nave. There was therefore originally no central aisle. Added to the rear were classrooms, committee rooms and vestries, though these do not appear on the original plan. The church was built of Whitby wallstone with ashlar dressings. The main entrance was at the south end being separated by a lobby from the nave. An arched and gabled entrance with paired doors beneath a marigold window, and flanked by two spiky lancets sat beneath a large round window of geometrical shapes (a central cinquefoil surrounded by ten quatrefoils). The tower had two stages with angle buttresses but was otherwise relatively plain. This supported a slim broach spire with lancet windows to the belfry. The broaches rose to pinnacles. The gable of the transept also faced Ramshill Road and has an attractive window of geometrical tracery and buttresses rising to pinnacles. The side of the tower and the transept were linked by the



south aisle with four geometrical traceried windows separated by staged buttresses. The clerestorey to the nave was separated by windows of cinquefoils. The first vicar was the Reverend Baggins who wrote the first biography of Titus Salt.

## **92. CRAGG ROYD, APPERLEY BRIDGE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1865

Demolished

Illustration No. lxxxiv

Villa in a free Gothic style, with an entrance tower with a very French Gothic roof with lucarnes and ironwork cresting. This was set back, when viewed from the garden, behind two bays; one with a gable end and the other a pyramidal roof and dormer. The window pattern of a triple ground floor window to the drawing room and a canted bay to the breakfast room, the roof of which acts as the balcony for the bedroom above, was a trademark of all the practice's private house designs. The windows were a mixture of the triangular arched, (those to the first-floor with trefoiled heads) and round arched windows to the tower. Adjoining to the north was a single-storey billiard room with an open hammer-beam roof and a lantern above the pyramidal roof.

## **93. CLOCK TOWER, AIRMYN, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1865

Grid reference SE 725 256

Illustration No. cxviii

Attractive Gothic clock-tower on prominent site. Four steep gables with clock faces within inset arches and gargoyles. The composition was topped by a spiky pyramidal roof with lucarnes. There was an arched entrance flanked by angle buttresses and a plain tower with slit windows. The tower had close similarities with the Bradford Wool Exchange tower.

## **94. COMPETITION ENTRY, ST PANCRAS HOTEL, ST PANCRAS, LONDON**

Entry 1865

Unexecuted

Lockwood and Mawson's was one of eleven entries in the architectural competition for the design of the St Pancras Hotel. They were unsuccessful, with G.G. Scott's design first premiated.

## **95. INNS OF COURT HOTEL, HOLBORN, LONDON**

Built 1865

Demolished

Illustration No. cxii, cxiv

Lavish hotel in the Franco-Italianate style on an awkward narrow site. The division of the plot by a track known as Whetstone Park necessitated tunnel and bridge links between the two building blocks, one facing Lincoln's Inn Fields and the other Holborn. The bulk of the accommodation was in the larger Holborn block, which included an inner court with water feature. The lavish hotel which cost over £135,000 to build and furnish had 170 bedrooms and numerous coffee rooms, reading rooms, meeting rooms, bars and a three-table billiard room.

The architectural treatment of the seven storey building was suitably decorous with the two



principal frontages treated similarly, though not identically. Common to both were the rusticated base, pilaster strips and Second Empire roofs with *oeil de boeuf* lucarnes and a row of small square windows placed beneath the eaves. The differences were in the treatment of the fenestration which included Venetian Arched windows on the Lincoln's Inn frontage and modified Serliana windows on the Holborn frontage.

## **96. THE BRADFORD CLUB, MANOR ROW, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1865

Grid reference SE 162 334

Illustration No. cx

Large club on the corner of Manor Row and Upper Piccadilly built at a cost of £6000. In a simple Venetian Gothic style presumably reflecting the tight budget. The Manor Row elevation had a canted bay, whilst the principal entrance was through a pointed arched doorway in Upper Piccadilly with three tall Venetian Gothic windows above. The doors had shafted jambs and the windows had colonettes. The club provided coffee and dining rooms, reading and billiard rooms, with caretaker's and servants' accommodation in the basement.

## **97. COMPETITION ENTRY, THE LAW COURTS, THE STRAND, LONDON**

Entry 1866

Unexecuted

Illustration No. lxxv

Although not one of the original six architects chosen by the Royal Commission, when the rules of the competition were changed, Lockwood was one of the eleven architects shortlisted.

His design had three meeting halls in the centre of the building, the central one was the largest (modelled on Westminster Hall) and it was intended that the northern side could be used as a meeting place for those with business in the equity courts, whilst its southern side would be used by the common law courts. The western hall would be used by the exchequer courts and provided a private entrance for the Lord Chancellor. The eastern hall could then be used by the adjacent Probate, Ecclesiastical or Admiralty Courts.

The building had three entrances; from The Strand to the south, Clements Inn to the west and Chancery Lane to the east, the Strand entrance being the principal one. Behind this was an open vestibule which gave light through to the central hall. This had a continuous top-lit walkway around its circumference and the various courts divided by jurors' and waiting rooms were accessed from it. An outer corridor then gave access to the judges' rooms which looked out to the surrounding streets. On the first floor were barristers' and solicitors' consulting rooms above the judges' rooms, together with library, robing and refreshment rooms. Below the courts, though directly linked to them, were the witnesses rooms.

The architectural style was described as of 'the type...found in Flanders.' Although in the Gothic style, the principal elevation was symmetrically arranged about a high centrepiece which Lockwood christened the 'Albert Tower' - a more elaborate version of the Bradford Wool Exchange tower. The window designs, and pattern of single, double and triple windows marking the storey level owed much to Lockwood's earlier designs for the Bradford Wool Exchange and Hull Town Hall, as did the polychromatic arched heads. At the corners were towers with French 'Second Empire' roofs with iron cresting. More unusual features



were the bays on the end pavilions treated as oriels. The arrangement of an oriel window above the grand entrance in the tower would be used again in the Bradford Town Hall design.

## **98. WESLEYAN METHODIST CHAPEL, SALTAIRE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1866-8

Demolished 1970

Large Methodist Church (capable of seating 800) in the Venetian Gothic style with a three bay two storey gabled centrepiece and Venetian Gothic (very 'Ruskinian') arches. The facade had an aggressive modillioned cornice, with drip moulds and arched windows with keystones typical of the village. The tight budget of £5400 is reflected in the exterior of the rest of the building which was 'preaching-box' plain.

## **99. PHASE 4 HOUSING, SALTAIRE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1866-9

Grid Reference SE 139 376

Illustration No. xli, xliii

Between 1866 and 1869 the housing was completed. The western boundary of the village was defined by Albert Road which had 22 attractive and well appointed houses for senior executives and professionals which were arranged in pairs or groups of four. These were split in two by a row of less substantial overlooker's cottages. The whole street when built had attractive views along the Aire Valley. The best Albert Road houses appropriately had Italianate round-arched window heads - a style much favoured by the Prince Consort. These were markedly different to the spikier Venetian Gothic forms on the almshouses, and it is possible that the architects were paying homage to the Consort in the use of this Romanesque style.

The space between Shirley Street and the Bradford Road was filled with three streets of 'improved' workmen's cottages (Katherine, Jane and Dove Streets), and by overlookers' and minor executive houses in Daisy, Myrtle, Harold and Gordon Places and Fern Street. These houses had attractive Italianate decoration befitting their prominent position against the main road.

The remainder of the workmen's cottages were in a block on the eastern side of Victoria Road with the extension of Titus and Caroline Streets and the erection of the two streets named after the architects. There was also some space on Victoria Road and George Street for overlookers' houses. The windows and lintels to these were more rectangular presumably to differentiate them from the workmen's cottages. Finally, Gordon Terrace, a mixture of three storey overlookers houses and shops with accommodation above lined the Keighley to Bradford Road. Two years after the completion of the housing programme in 1871, Saltaire housed 4300 workers in 824 houses including accommodation above the forty shops.

## **100. BAPTIST CHURCH, ALBEMARLE CRESCENT, SCARBOROUGH, NORTH YORKSHIRE**

Built 1867

Grid reference TA 040 886

Illustration No. lxxvii

The partnership's first commission for the Baptists. A Gothic church in the Geometrical



Decorated style with a corner steeple. The facade to Albemarle Crescent was dominated by the gabled east wall of the nave which housed the main entrance through a vestibule of three arches with voussoirs of alternate Whitby and Bradford stone giving a polychromatic effect. These had carved capitals and label mouldings with angels. Above was a principal east window of six lancets with geometric tracery. At each side of the entrance were the gallery staircases, the stair enclosure which attached to the base of the tower had a very continental feel.

The inside of the church was delightfully light and airy with slender cast-iron columns supporting an ornate open timber roof and a gallery at the east end of the nave. The apsidal space behind the pulpit which housed the organ at Scarborough and Lightcliffe was reserved for the baptistry in this case, and the openness of the nave ensured that every pew would enjoy an uninterrupted view of the proceedings. Vestries, a lecture room and an organ chapel were also provided.

### **101. LONGWOOD, BRADFORD ROAD, BINGLEY, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1867

Grid Reference SE 098 401

Illustration No. lxxxii

Substantial house in fine setting built for Marshall Selwyn, a partner in Bradford's Bowling Iron Works. Set between the main Bradford - Keighley road and the River Aire, yet totally private due to the extensive grounds and natural topography. The house had an asymmetrical plan with simple Italianate detailing. The main feature was the carved stone entrance through a tower-like porch in the north entrance. There was a single-storey three-sided bay to the garden front, the roof of which was a balcony for the principal bedroom. The south elevation also had a square two-storey bay. The roofs were shallow-pitched and hipped with broad eaves and cornices. The principal windows (which had fashionable margin panes), had arched heads, prominent keystones and carved impost bands.

The accommodation was extensive with a large central hall laid with ornamental tiles and lit by a large stained glass window. The formal rooms on the ground floor included breakfast room, dining room (with conservatory off), drawing room and ante-drawing room, supported by generous servants rooms and kitchens. Extensive outbuildings were also provided, together with yards and kitchen garden. The lodge also survives and exhibits the hipped slate roofs, modillioned cornice, canted bays and arched windows with keystones of the main house. The entrance was via an open porch with Corinthian pilasters.

### **102. THE VICTORIA HOTEL, BRIDGE STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1867

Grid reference SE 165 329

Illustration No. cxii

Bradford's first major hotel, built close to the railway station to which its principal frontage faced. The large building was designed as a French chateau but with *trecento* Italianate detailing. The five storey block had pavilion wings with bay windows and a central entrance with a porch of paired Corinthian columns. The hipped roof had *oeil de boeuf* lucarnes. The interior was palatial.



### **103. MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, KEIGHLEY, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1868

Demolished

Illustration No. xciii

Built in the Geometric Decorated Gothic style as the Mechanics' Institute and School of Science and Art. It housed a large public lecture hall and the smaller rooms of the Mechanics' Institute. The building had windows with Geometric tracery and cusping, and a 100ft tower separated yet united the two functions of the building. The main facade faced Skipton Road and housed the full height lecture hall which could seat 700 people. This was separated by the tower from the main block of accommodation facing Cavendish Street which had a library, reading room, news room and other accommodation for the Mechanics' Institute at ground level, and exhibition, painting and other rooms for the school above. The basement housed class rooms and a 100-seat lecture theatre. The Mechanics' Institute, schools and lecture theatre all had separate entrances and could all be used independently.

### **104. COMPETITION ENTRY, HOUSE OF RECOVERY, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Entry 1868

Unexecuted

The architects took their customary precaution of providing two designs - one Italianate and the other Gothic. Their plans illustrated 'the pavilion principle, developed in two modes of arrangement, both with the pavilions on lines from north to south, and therefore with east and west aspects to the wards (Builder 1868 p826). The buildings were to be of two storeys with five wards of twelve beds each. Unusually, their plan was not chosen, a Gothic design by Andrews, Son and Pepper being selected. This was probably the architects' only failure in a design competition in Bradford.

### **105. SCHOOLS, VICTORIA ROAD, SALTAIRE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1868

Grid reference SE 138 378

Illustration No. xlv

Italianate school buildings designed to be exemplars of their type and capable of housing 700 scholars. Three pedimented pavilions, the centre one with a tall bell tower with carved figures of a boy and girl. The two other pavilions housed the entrances for the two sexes who also had separate playgrounds. The windows were *cinquecento* Venetian windows whose tympana were decorated with foliage and an entwined TS. The pavilions were linked by loggias to provide shelter in the wet. The planning of the building was effectively borrowed from the firm's experiences in designing workhouses where the separation of the sexes and different age groups and infirmities was required.

### **106. ALMSHOUSES, VICTORIA ROAD, SALTAIRE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1868

Grid reference SE 138 377

Illustration No. xlvi

Attractive group of 45 almshouses laid out around three sides of a landscaped square. The group was symmetrically arranged about the central chapel. In the Venetian Gothic style with



paired windows with colonettes, and voussoirs of different stones. The almshouses housed 60 people, mostly retired Salt employees, and were well appointed with their own oven, boiler and pantry and a single bedroom.

#### **107. NEW MILL, SALTAIRE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1868

Grid reference SE 140 382

Illustration No. xlvii

The 'New Mill' was added to the mill complex on the piece of land between the river and the canal. This increased the size of the gas works, provided a dyeworks and increased the spinning capacity. The main feature was the large chimney modelled on the *campanile* of the Venetian Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa which was illustrated in Rawlinson's 'Designs for Furnaces, Factories and Tall Chimneys'. The detailing of the rest of the building was in the Italianate style of the rest of the village, and the chimney was designed as the focus of the vista along the main street of the village.

#### **108. HOSPITAL, VICTORIA ROAD, SALTAIRE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1868

Grid reference SE 139 377

Small hospital which was originally a casualty ward which gradually became a small hospital for the village. Stylistically identical to the almshouses (which were built at the same time), and was similarly of two storeys until the third floor was seamlessly added (using much of the original detail) in the early part of the twentieth century.

#### **109. WOODLEIGH HALL, RAWDON, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1869

Grid reference SE 220 383

Illustration No. lxxxv

Extensive private house built for worsted manufacturer Moses Bottomley. In a sophisticated Elizabethan style with a pilastered tower, portico and colonnade. The Hall occupied a commanding position overlooking the Aire Valley and was set in 25 acres of gardens which blended seamlessly into the surrounding landscape. The tower marked the entrance, which was sheltered by an open portico. It was topped by a belvedere with appropriate balustrading, pinnacles and openwork cresting. At each end of the principal elevations were large, shaped gables whilst the windows had transoms and mullions. There was a variety of bays and at the east end was an attractive oriel window. A large palm house, some 45ft long, was also attached to the east of the principal frontage. An open colonnade ran at the base of the garden front..

The interior decoration included faithfully reproduced Elizabethan panelling in dark oak (library), ebony (drawing room), and dark mahogany (dining room) and there were appropriately styled fireplaces and stained glass windows to the principal rooms. The palm house opened directly from the drawing room and was set several steps below the main house so those within the room could enjoy the view of the specimens within the palm house which had a mosaic floor.



## **110. COMPETITION ENTRY, BAPTIST CHAPEL, GLOSSOP ROAD, SHEFFIELD, SOUTH YORKSHIRE**

Entry 1869

Unexecuted

Unsuccessful competition entry submitted under the motto 'Experientia Docet'.

## **111. NEW MILL, LUMB LANE MILLS, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1869

Grid reference SE 155 339

Seven storey mill, 237 feet long and 55 feet wide added to the complex of 1858 for James Drummond. Italianate with staircase towers and fire-proof construction.

## **112. TOWN HALL, MARKET STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1869-73

Grid reference SE 163 329

Illustration Nos. lx-lxiv

Competition-winning design; the Gothic form being chosen though the architects took the precaution of also producing a Classical version. The centrepiece was a high clock tower based on Gandolfo's Tower at the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. The principal facade was virtually symmetrical, despite the awkward site, with the arrangement of windows based on those at Amiens Cathedral. The Gothic style had evolved into one with strong French influences but still with Italianate undertones and the designs show similarities with the drawings for the Law Courts competition.

The building had a heavy, rusticated basement. The first principal floor had two-light shafted windows with plate tracery set in arches. A continuous stringcourse joined the windows, and the spandrels were to have diaper work patterns with carved heads set in medallions like the Wool Exchange. In execution, these details were restricted to the main entrance. The second floor windows were treated as a continuous arcade of paired shafted lancets separated by statues of England's kings in niches. Queens Victoria and Elizabeth I occupied more prominent positions adjacent to the main entrance door. The steeply pitched roof had gabled dormers with scaled-down versions of the first floor windows and, like the Wool Exchange, has an open colonnade as a parapet and a roof punctuated by ridge stacks.

The principal elevation stretching some 300ft was virtually symmetrical, with a gabled centrepiece forming the base of the clock tower. The centrepiece had fine stone carving in the elaborate entrance arch, an oriel window above and huge pinnacles. Slightly shorter, squatter gables acted as terminal features to the end of the facade. The awkward shape of the site meant that the north-eastern corner came virtually to a point. Lockwood's winning design had a semicircular 'apse' here, but this was faceted on execution to give a better relationship with the dormers of the third stage. This may have been at the suggestion of the *Building News* who also recommended repositioning the tower closer to the principal elevation which Lockwood also did on execution.



The plan was extremely efficient and convenient in its use of space with the municipal offices in the larger, rectangular part of the site, separated from the magistrate's court in the north-eastern corner. The principal committee rooms and Mayor's office were directly accessible from the elaborate principal entrance and staircase, whilst the borough offices could be reached also from a side entrance with an attractive circular staircase. The court also had separate entrances for the public and those involved in the proceedings.

### **113. EXTENSIONS TO UNION WORKHOUSE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built late 1860s      Grid Reference SE 159 319

Additions to the workhouse necessitated by the population explosion which followed a trade boom in the 1860s. The additions were in four detached blocks at right angles to the rear of the original buildings. All were of three storeys and had similar Italianate detailing to the original buildings. All had stair towers and pedimented centres which broke forward slightly from the front of each range.

### **114. HASLINGDEN WORKHOUSE, HASLINGDEN, LANCASHIRE**

Built late 1860s?      Demolished      Illustration No. cii

Large workhouse of three storeys with main facade of 31 bays. Gabled centrepiece flanked by stairtowers topped by cupolas. End pavilions to wings with steep 'Second Empire' roofs. The wings had round arched windows. Very similar in appearance to Carlisle Workhouse but with French-inspired end pavilions indicating a date later in the 1860s.

### **115. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, LEEDS ROAD, LIGHTCLIFFE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1870      Grid reference: SE 131 258      Illustration No. lxxv

Large and impressive church virtually opposite Titus Salt's family home at Crow Nest and built largely through donations by Salt and John Crossley. Very similar to the Ramshill Road Congregational Church at Scarborough and again in a thirteenth-century Gothic style with a south-west corner tower and high nave with single storey aisles. The nave was of five bays, the last one blocked by the base of the tower through which was the principal entrance. The arcades had moulded two-centred arches with polished granite piers and carved capitals. The organ apse at the east window was lit by a wheel window, whilst large windows with Decorated tracery lit the transepts. These were lower than at Scarborough and related more comfortably to the nave. The church was converted to an office in 1989.

### **116. DRINKING FOUNTAIN, PEEL PARK, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1870      Grid reference SE 170 347

Drinking fountain made from the rescued Baroque doorcase from the Manor House which stood in Kirkgate, Bradford. It had an open pediment punctured by a cartouche.



### **117. ST THOMAS' CHURCH SCHOOL, WIGAN STREET, BRADFORD**

Built 1871

Grid reference SE 157 333

Small school built for the Anglicans in a poor but rapidly growing area of Bradford. Small and relatively plain but with fenestration with plate tracery above twin entrance doors, and simple mullion windows.

### **118. AMERICAN AND CHINESE EXPORT CO. WAREHOUSE, 62 VICAR LANE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1871

Grid reference SE 167 331

Illustration No. lxxix

Fine five storey wool warehouse built in Bradford's Little Germany for Thornton, Homan and Co. The ground floor had a base of rusticated, vermiculated masonry whilst the first floor was treated as a *piano nobile* and had closely spaced arched-headed windows set in aediculated surrounds. The second and third floors had similar windows with carved impost bands, whilst the windows in the top floor had moulded segmental heads. The building was topped by a lavish cornice. Fine stone carving was a characteristic of the building with an American eagle in the fanlight of the door, the pediment of which was similarly ornate with cotton plants and festoons wrapping around the console brackets. The first floor window heads incorporated stars and stripes, with the monogram 'TH' above the third floor windows.

### **119. BUILDINGS IN ROBERT PARK, SALTAIRE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1871

Grid reference SE 138 383

Illustration No. xlviii

The park at Saltaire was laid out on the opposite bank of the river to the village itself. It was landscaped by William Gay but Lockwood and Mawson designed a number of small lodges and shelters mostly in an Italianate-Gothic style. Many of these were T-shaped in homage to the founder, and all were of hammer-dressed stone with Welsh slate roofs to match the Saltaire vernacular. They also designed a tea-room with a viewing platform above and flights of stairs to cope with the change of level in the park. A statue of Salt was later added to the viewing platform.

### **120. COMPETITION ENTRY, UNION WORKHOUSE, BURNLEY, LANCASHIRE**

Entry 1871

Unexecuted

Lockwood and Mawson were one of three architects invited to design a workhouse at Burnley for 320 inmates at a cost of £15,000. The competition was however won by Mr Waddington of Burnley.



## **121. KIRKGATE MARKET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1871 - 77

Demolished 1973

Illustration Nos. cxv, cxvi

Covered market commenced in 1871 and extended later in the decade. The first phase had a main hall of 5520 sq.yds, surrounded by thirty shop units of different widths. The principal entrances were at each end of the rectangle opening into octagonal pavilions which in turn opened onto the six avenues of stalls. The interior was wonderfully light and airy with arched iron windows around the external walls. The southern roofslope was covered with slate, but the north was glazed with obscured ground glass to let in the light but not the heat.

Externally the building was in an elaborately detailed Italianate/Second Empire style. William Day Keyworth was employed as sculptor of the huge figures of Pomona and Flora in the spandrels over the arched Kirkgate entrance. This facade was symmetrical, with the entrance topped by a 'Second Empire' roof with ironwork cresting, and similar roofs marking the canted ends of the block. The arcaded windows of the upper storeys were in *Cinquecento* style.

The second phase of the work, approved in 1875, involved an extension to the market with facades to Darley Street and Godwin Street. It included increasing the size of the market hall by 120ft by 100ft with a further 19 shops and a restaurant around the edges. The market extension would require a second 'dome' to light the interior. Above the shops at the top of Darley Street a reading library was provided with reference library, men's and women's libraries, patents library and lending library. Stylistically, the building followed the architecture of the original building but with some modifications to the upper levels to better light the library.

## **122. THE INSTITUTE, VICTORIA ROAD, SALTAIRE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1872

Grid Reference SE 139 379

Illustration Nos. li, lii

Building designed to provide a mixture of adult education and entertainment without the evils of alcohol. It had a reading room, 8,500 volume library, chess and draughts room, smoking room, four-table billiard room, three-table bagatelle room, 800-seat lecture hall, 200-seat lecture hall, two art rooms, classrooms, gymnasium and rifle drill hall. It was considered to be one of the most complete centres of education in the country at the time.

A symmetrical T-shaped building in a very free Italianate style. It had an elaborate central tower with a portal beneath which had Salt's coat-of-arms in a cartouche flanked by carved figures of Art and Science by Thomas Milnes in the tympanum. The building made free use of the Corinthian Order with pilasters and colonettes. It had a modillion cornice, window surrounds with keystones with carved heads, vermiculated masonry and richly moulded string and drip moulds. The panelled parapet had finials supported by grotesque winged beasts. The main hall had an elaborately plastered coffered ceiling with pilasters and a bracketed entablature and a raking gallery which sat on fluted cast-iron columns and was originally horseshoe-shaped with side galleries.



The building cost over £25,000 and was adorned by railings and large sculpted lions (representing War and Peace, Determination and Vigilance) by Thomas Milne.

### **123. OAKBANK, INGROW, KEIGHLEY, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1872

Grid Reference SE 049 398

Solid Italianate villa built for John Haggas, a Keighley worsted spinner. The building was symmetrical with a central entrance door beneath a heavily bracketed canopy. The villa made extensive use of round-arched windows which had quite extensive carved detailing. Internally the hallway and grand staircase were particularly lavish. The house still survives, in much altered state, as a school.

### **124. YORKSHIRE BANKING CO. BANK STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1872-4

Demolished

Illustration No. civ

Lavish bank in Franco-Italianate style with an entrance in the canted corner of the site with coupled columns supporting a segmental pediment. The treatment above was similar but with triangular pediment and reduced in scale, whilst on second floor the columns supported a continuous drip mould. Above was a cornice and parapet topped by a 'Second Empire' dome. The side elevations had balconied windows and aediculated surrounds at first floor level and paired, arched windows on the top storey linked by impost bands. The ground floor base of the building had heavily rusticated masonry. Internally, there was a full basement for storage and caretaker, with a large banking room (52 ft long, 33 ft wide and 22 ft 6 in high) at the ground floor together with manager's and waiting rooms with the strong room securely housed in the centre of the building. The upper floors were designed as offices to be let separately which had their own entrance.

### **125. HIGHER GRADE SCHOOL, FEVERSHAM STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1873

Grid Reference SE 171 329

Illustration No. lxxxix

Lavish Gothic school, one of eight commissioned by the Bradford School Board, and split between the premier architects in the town. The main block provided accommodation for infants and girls with boys housed in a separate block across the road. The style was Early English Gothic with plate tracery in the principal windows. The plan was slightly asymmetrical with a tower and spired lantern placed just off-centre above the girls' entrance. Otherwise the main school plan was a long rectangle with gabled end-pieces and centre but with smaller gables centred in each wing. The boys' block was largely a mirror image of the girls' accommodation which it faced directly across the street.



## **126. LAW RUSSELL WAREHOUSE, 63 VICAR LANE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1873

Grid Reference SE 168 331

Illustration No. lxxx

Fantastically lavish wool warehouse on an exceptionally awkward site, where the architects had to cope not only with the usual steep slope, but also a quadrant-shaped site. Rather than designing the building with continuous facades (one of which was to a minor street), they concentrated the majority of the decoration on the canted corner - the most prominent part of the building. This was treated as a pavilion, with coupled Corinthian columns, superimposed one on top of the other for five storeys. A 'Second Empire' roof topped the composition. The perspective was exaggerated by reducing the heights of the columns in the successive stages. The windows framed by the columns and entablature had shallow pediments (on the first and second stages) and were Venetian on the upper storeys.

The portico housed the main staircase; the space only 21 feet wide would have been useless for any other function and was a common position for stairs in the Little Germany warehouses. The oval staircase had cast-iron bannisters and a continuously-moulded handrail and was topped by a belvedere beneath the dome. Inside were almost a third of a mile of counters.

Land prices in the area at the time meant that as much accommodation as possible needed to be provide and, despite the portico, the building had seven storeys. The architects clearly realised that the proportions of a seven stage pavilion would be unbearably fussy, and they built just five stages. This of course left the problem of marrying the two together when the pavilion was only one bay deep. This they achieved by combining the main block fenestration of the semi-basement and ground floors together, and top-lighting the uppermost storey. Although this left an area of blank masonry, this was articulated by replicating the cill band of the other floors and providing a cornice even heavier than normal.

## **127. SION BAPTIST CHURCH, HARRIS STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1873

Grid reference SE 169 331

Illustration No. lxix

Winning design in a limited competition between Lockwood and Mawson and Andrews and Pepper. The Baptists had sold the site of their previous chapel to the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. The original design was described as 'plain and subdued' and was presumably changed after they had been awarded the commission. The final cost was £23,000.

The chapel was a 'temple' with a facade of the Giant Corinthian Order. The front had five bays; the middle three forming a portico with two central Corinthian columns and terminal pilasters. The portico projected slightly with quarter pilasters at its ends which supported a deep entablature and a modillion bracketed pediment with acroteria. Although the facade was noble, the effect was spoiled by the awkward proportions of the first-floor windows with badly proportioned pediments. In the tympanum of the pediment was a scrolled date panel highly reminiscent of the motto in the same position at Providence Place Congregational



Church in Cleckheaton. Despite the high cost, the seven side bays were relatively plain, though a presbytery was provided at the rear of the site.

## **128. TITUS SALT MEMORIAL, MARKET STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1873

Grid reference now SE 150 354

Illustration No. cxix

Gothic memorial to Sir Titus Salt, virtually a miniature Albert Memorial, which originally stood in front of the Town Hall. The elaborate 40 ft high canopy with crockets and pinnacles was of the same Cliffe Woods stone as the Town Hall, and was carved by Farmer and Brindley of Westminster who produced the statues of monarchs there to ensure it complemented the design of the building. The statue itself was around 7 ft high and was of Salt seated and holding a scroll intended to represent a plan of Saltaire. It was of white Carrara marble and was sculpted by John Adams-Acton [1834-1910]. The statue became an obstruction to traffic and was moved to behind the Norman Arch in Lister Park in 1896.

## **129. LEGRAMS MILL, LEGRAMS LANE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1873

Grid reference SE 149 328

Built for George Hodgson, a loom manufacturer of some renown and success. The original plans were very ambitious and intended to provide large combing and weaving sheds, a warehouse and a six-storey mill. This integrated mill was clearly modelled on Saltaire, but unfortunately a slump in the fortunes of traditional Bradford cotton-warp worsted fabrics curtailed the plans and the weaving shed was never built, the mill left as a shell (not being completed until 1903 by Moore and Crabtree of Keighley), whilst the warehouse was converted to spinning mill with combing carried out in the attached shed.

The mill had a fine 26 bay elevation to Legrams Lane which was enhanced by projecting staircase towers capped by squat pyramidal roofs above belvederes. The fenestration was largely of round-arched Italianate style, with a large, bracketed cornice. The mill also had a notable coronet chimney with decorative elements which is now truncated and mutilated.

## **130. THE CITY TEMPLE, HOLBORN, LONDON**

Built 1873-4

Grid reference TQ 314 815

Illustration No. lxxviii

Probably the most important Congregational Church in the country, indicating the esteem in which the practice was held by the Congregational faith.

The principal facade was to Holborn Viaduct and stylistically it was Baroque. The centre had a two-tier portico of Doric columns and entablature at ground level supporting an upper tier of more familiar Corinthian columns in turn supporting a pediment with carvings in the tympanum in the French Baroque style. Either side were supporting bays with arched doorways with vermiculated voussoirs and aediculated windows. The right-hand bay rose up to form a 145ft high tower with a pronounced French Renaissance feel, though the position



paid homage to the City Churches of Nicholas Hawksmoor.

Internally the building was huge, capable of seating 2,500 people, and so had galleries in a horse-shoe shape and a main 'auditorium' with raked seating below making it more reminiscent of a theatre than a place of worship and reflecting the increasingly evangelical nature of Congregational services. The centre of the auditorium had a circular ceiling raised above the side aisles by semi-circular arches. This gave the building 'perfect acoustic properties' (*The Architect* 1873 p.264). The internal arrangements were made possible by the variation in street level from Holborn Viaduct (which was faced by the front elevation), and Shoe Lane at the rear which was twenty-one feet lower. This also allowed schoolrooms, caretaker's house, ladies sewing room and committee rooms to be housed beneath. The building (excluding the site) cost £26,444.

### **131. ST MARY IN THE WOOD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, MORLEY, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1874

Grid Reference SE 264 280

Illustration No. lxxvi

Rebuilt church similar in style to those at Scarborough and Lightcliffe with a south west corner steeple rising to 140 ft and a high, wide nave with transepts and a short chancel. The church was 100ft long and 45 ft wide and was built at a cost of £7000. The principal entrance was in the west end of the gable beneath a four-light Decorated Gothic window whilst at the east end, in the organ apse, was a rose window. Internally galleries for additional accommodation were provided and the roof was open timbered. The lack of aisles meant that all the 850 worshippers were assured of a clear view of the pulpit. The church was of stone with a welsh slate roof laid in fish scale patterns.

### **132. ST STEPHEN'S CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE PARK, EAST TWICKENHAM, MIDDLESEX**

Built 1874

Grid reference SU 173 741

Winning design in a controversial limited competition. Gothic church for 500 worshippers built apparently in two phases with the nave and two aisles completed by the end of 1875 but with a temporary east wall. The building was internally of Suffolk bricks but with Kentish ragstone used for the exterior with Bath stone dressings. The cost was said to be £8500 - £1500 over budget which possibly explains the prolonged construction period of the building.

### **133. AIREDALE COLLEGE, EMM LANE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1874-7

Grid Reference SE 147 336

Illustration No. xc

Built for Bradford's Nonconformists as a seminary. A multi-gabled, two-storey composition based on a barely asymmetrical plan form. The largest gable housed the main entrance which was all but centrally located. At the eastern end was a large assembly room open to the rafters and lit by a two-storey bay window, whilst to the west was the attached principal's residence at right angles to the main college range. The library was placed on the first floor



in the west flank and was lit by three traceried windows. A single similar window in the eastern flank lit the largest of the lecture rooms. The corridors were pushed to the rear of the block (which faced north) and the principal staircase was in a projection to the rear of the main entrance. The geometric Decorated style was employed though the steeply pitched roofs, particularly the steep pyramidal roof above the central bay of the principal's house, show a French influence.

#### **134. BOARD SCHOOL, DRIGHLINGTON, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1874-5                      Grid reference SE 225 286

Boys' and girls' schools each with two classrooms to accommodate 500 pupils and separate infants school for 170 pupils. Each school had a separate entrance and lavatories and other conveniences, and to the rear was a mixed school for teaching 'advanced' pupils of both sexes. The schools had open timber roofs and were built at a cost of £5000.

#### **135. ST JAMES' WHOLESALE MARKET, OFF LEEDS ROAD, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1875                      Grid reference SE 170 326                      Illustration No. cxvii

Large wholesale produce market with its own railway sidings. A main street ran east-west on the south side of which were sixteen two-storey potato, fruit and fish warehouses. Opposite were twenty-two fruit warehouses which also lined a smaller street at right angles from the western end of the main street. The fish market was at the eastern end and had ten warehouses, and there were thirty four market garden stands, abattoirs and cattle pens on the north of the large site. Ten of the largest warehouses had their own turntables and sidings so that goods could be loaded into the upper storage areas directly from the railway. The buildings were relatively plain but with a clocktower above the superintendent's office at the junction of the two roads. The convenience of the building and its hygiene standards were unprecedented amongst provincial towns.

#### **136. STAMFORD, SPALDING AND BOSTON BANKING CO. BOSTON, LINCOLNSHIRE**

Built 1876                      Grid reference TF 327 442                      Illustration No. cviii

Bank and manager's residence in an unusually plain Gothic style. Three storeys of ashlar with an hexagonal end to the Market Square. The ground floor sash windows had shouldered arched heads and moulded jambs whilst the upper two storeys had transom and mullion windows. The building was topped by a pierced parapet of quatrefoils with a similar pattern on the vestigial balconies to the first floor windows. The commission was won in a limited competition.



### **137. CONGREGATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOLS, VICTORIA ROAD, SALTIRE**

Built 1876

Demolished 1973

Illustration No. il

The final building designed by Lockwood and Mawson in Saltire. Located on the opposite side of the road to the Church and built at a cost of £10,000 (of which Salt donated £7000). The school had a main hall capable of seating 800 with a galleried interior and raked seating for the infants. The hall had twenty-two classrooms and lecture halls around it. It was apparently better attended than the day schools. The Sunday school had a two-storey, five bay front, the centre three slightly projecting and topped by a pediment. The windows were round arched and Italianate in an almost *Rundbogenstil* fashion. It had a deep modillion cornice and separate entrances for boys and girls in the two end bays. Behind the facade, the main hall was top-lit by a fine iron and glass clerestorey roof. This meant that side wings of classrooms and offices could be provided without leaving the main hall gloomy and unlit. (West Yorkshire Archives, Bradford, Ref. 72 D92/9/3)

### **138. CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLY ASSOCIATION STORES, THE STRAND, LONDON**

Built 1876-7

Demolished

### **139. CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLY ASSOCIATION OFFICES AND WAREHOUSE, BEDFORD STREET, LONDON**

Built 1876-7

Grid reference TQ 304 808

Illustration No. cxi

Large five storey building in a Franco-Italianate style on an L-shaped plot. The ground floor gave the building a rusticated base whilst the *piano nobile* and second floors had a Giant Order of Corinthian pilasters and attached columns. The columns supported a decorative frieze and cornice with the third floor above and further accommodation in the roof. The corner and ends had 'Second Empire' pavilion roofs with cresting. The entrances were on the canted corner and at the end of the principal facade and had elaborate pedimented doorcases with Ionic pilasters and carved tympana. The first floor window surrounds had a similar treatment whilst the fenestration of the upper floors were relatively plain. The walls were of Suffolk brick with detailing of Mansfield stone and terracotta.

### **140. SHOPS AND OFFICES, HOLBORN VIADUCT, LONDON**

Built 1876-7

Demolished

Extensive range of shop and office property built for Charles Meeking.

### **141. WAKEFIELD AND BARNSELY UNION BANK, WESTGATE, WAKEFIELD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1876-8

Grid reference SE 328 207

High Victorian ashlar bank in typical Franco-Italianate style with rusticated ground floor, pedimented windows and a clock in the 'Second Empire' dome. Commission won in a



limited competition.

#### **142. FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE, FOUNTAIN STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1877

Grid reference SE 161 335

'Temple' chapel with facade of five bays and a modillioned pediment with ornate date plaque in the tympanum. Tetrastyle portico *in antis* with Doric columns. A remarkably plain chapel design reflecting the unostentatious nature of the Society of Friends. At ground floor was an attractive cast-iron and glass canopy. The building was badly damaged by fire in the 1970s and all but the facade has been demolished.

#### **143. LIBERAL CLUB, SHOPS AND OFFICES, BANK STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1877

Grid reference SE 163 331

Illustration No. cix

Comprehensive redevelopment comprising a complete block of property in a fine Italianate style between Kirkgate and Hustlergate and fronting onto the newly created Bank Street. The key building was the Liberal Club which had an elaborate carved entrance off Bank Street and a secondary access to the rear on Queensgate. The club accommodation was on the three upper floors with only a tiled vestibule and entrance hall at ground level which gave access to a fine top-lit staircase of Pompeian red and apple green with painted and stencilled walls and ceilings. The accommodation included dining, coffee, smoking and billiard rooms, staff accommodation and kitchens. Shops and the Halifax Commercial Bank occupied the ground and basement floors beneath the club accommodation. The part of the block with a facade on Kirkgate was occupied by Messrs Rhodes and Son goldsmiths, whilst the other end of the block housed Parkinson, Clark and Co's silk and drapery business.

#### **144. UNION CLUB, PIECE HALL YARD, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1877

Grid reference SE 164 331

Three storey building with a mixture of Renaissance and Gothic detailing. The entrance was through a portal with Romanesque detailing and a foliate-carved cornice and lantern above. The top floor had gabled dormers above machicolated eaves with striking gargoyles. Like the Liberal Club, the lower parts of the building were let to commercial premises.

#### **145. WOOL WAREHOUSES, CHURCH BANK, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1877

Demolished

Further plan for Thomas Mills on same site as two earlier schemes. Again four storey warehouses above basements were proposed, with a central archway off Vicar Lane. West Yorkshire Archives, Bradford, Building Plan 9990.



**146. MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, SKIPTON ROAD, KEIGHLEY, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Enlargements 1877    Demolished

**147. FORE STREET CO. WAREHOUSES, LONDON**

Built 1877-9            Demolished

**148. MERCHANT TAYLORS CO. WAREHOUSES, LONDON**

Built 1877-9            Demolished

**149. UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SHAKESPEARE STREET, NOTTINGHAM, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE**

Built 1877-90            Grid Reference SK 570 403            Illustration No. xci

Competition-winning design not completed until after Lockwood's death. Despite its Gothic style, the college had a symmetrical principal front, with a gabled centrepiece and projecting gables at each end of the frontage. The fenestration included a mixture of geometric and plate tracery with the first floor windows treated as a continuous arcade with paired shafts separating the single light windows. The main entrance to Shakespeare Street had a triple-arched gabled entrance, triple windows of geometrical tracery, diaper work, statues of Bacon and Newton and a band of sculpture representing students of the arts and sciences, all flanked by two large pinnacles and topped by a 120 feet high fleche. The end gables led to two side wings with frontages to Sherwood Street and Bilbie Street which housed the library and museum respectively. Each of these had its own elaborate entrance. The three lecture theatres and laboratories of the science department sat in a block immediately behind the main entrance.

**150. MORTUARY CHAPELS, UNDERCLIFFE CEMETERY, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1878            Demolished 1979

Adjacent mortuary chapels for Nonconformist and Anglican burials which replaced 1854 chapels by Mallinson and Healey. Lockwood and Mawson's chapels were in the thirteenth century Gothic style. Both had entrances at the west end beneath triple lancet windows, and rose windows at the east end. The Nonconformist chapel was larger, the Anglican chapel had a smaller chancel in particular.

**151. CITY MARKETS, DRURY LANE, DUBLIN, EIRE**

Built 1878

Winning design in a limited competition judged by Alfred Waterhouse. The layout of the market was similar to Kirkgate with the market surrounded by belts of shops. A smaller area



of market was included on the opposite side of Drury Lane, and the roof was carried across the street to encompass this. The market itself was 246ft long and 112ft wide, with cellarage beneath. The shops had offices or dwellings above and the roof construction was also designed to permit only light from the north. The exterior was in the Gothic style with red brick and terracotta detailing particularly around the entrances and on the corners of the buildings.

## **152. MERCHANT TAYLORS' BOYS SCHOOL, GREAT CROSBY, MERSEYSIDE**

Built 1878

Grid Reference SJ 321 990

Illustration No. xcii

Red brick school in the Gothic style with stone dressings and patterned slate roof. Imposing largely symmetrical principal elevation, single storey and with a central entrance topped by a high tower and larger end wings, one gabled and the other with a hipped roof. The main building had alternate bays with gables and windows with plate tracery separated by plain six-light windows. The tower was plain in its lower stage but had an upper stage with turrets and a *Rundbogenstil* arcade topped by a lantern with a pyramidal roof. The end wings contained halls and were identical in plan but with differences in the detailing of windows and roofs.

## **153. YORKSHIRE BANKING CO., WHITEFRIARGATE, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1878-9

Grid Reference TA 098 287

Illustration No. cv, cvi

Impressive stone *palazzo* bank with giant fluted Corinthian columns and a base of alternate bands of dressed and vermiculated masonry. The ground floor windows had massive heads in the keystones and triangular pediments to the first and segmental pediments to the second floors. An attic storey with small square windows was topped by a modillion cornice. The entrance was in the canted corner with an attractively carved pedimented doorcase with tripartite sash windows above. Extensive manager's accommodation was provided in the upper storeys and accessed separately from the banking hall. An open well provided light to the manager's desk at the rear of the ground floor. The plans for the building were approved shortly before Lockwood's death, though the bank was not completed until a year later. (Kingston upon Hull Archives, OBLM 5551).



## **C. THE BUILDINGS OF W & R MAWSON**

### **154. WAREHOUSE, 8 BURNETT STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1878                      Grid Reference SE 168 332

Side extension of two storeys and basement to wool warehouse for A. Hoffman & Co. built in 1858 by Andrews and Delaunay. The extension had a double pile roof supported by cast iron columns. West Yorkshire Archives, Bradford, Building Plan 10252

### **155. WAREHOUSE, 39 WELL STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Alterations 1879              Grid reference SE 167 331

Alterations to divide wool warehouse built by Milnes and France in 1867 into piece rooms for Nathan, Hardy and Sons.

### **156. CHRIST CHURCH, ELDON PLACE, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1879                      Demolished

New church to replace 1813 church which was bought by the council to allow the final phase of the markets scheme to be completed. The new Christ Church was on the edge of the town centre and was in the Early English style, but with an apse at the east end in a slightly later Decorated Gothic. The building had north and south transepts with vestries and an organ chapel at the east end. The main entrance was through a south porch. Internally the building was of five bays, with the fifth bay at the crossing and slightly larger than the others. The apse at the east end had a lower roof. West Yorkshire Archives, Bradford, Building Plan 10124.

### **157. VICTORIA CHAMBERS, SOUTH PARADE, LEEDS, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built late 1870s              Demolished

Italianate commercial building of red brick with stone dressings.

### **158. HALIFAX COMMERCIAL BANKING CO. COMMERCIAL STREET, HALIFAX**

Built 1880                      Grid reference SE 092 251                      Illustration No. cxxii

Extensive Gothic bank on corner site. The three storey stone building had windows similar in inspiration to those of Bradford Town Hall with plate tracery to the first and attic floors. The French influence is evident with a steep pavilion roof and lucarnes though mixed more unusually with small turrets. Despite the awkward site with a narrow corner and the two other sides of different lengths, with some ingenuity, the building is symmetrical.



## **159. HORNBY CASTLE, NEAR LANCASTER, LANCASHIRE**

Built 1880s

Grid reference SD 589 687

Illustration No. cxxiii

Commanding building said to date back to the thirteenth century and acquired by John Foster, owner of the Black Dyke Mills in Queensbury, Bradford in 1861 for £200,000. On his death, the estate passed to his son William who commissioned the Mawsons to build a new wing to the east of the keep to take away the lop-sided appearance. The style of the wing complemented the towers, battlemented cornices, turrets and mullioned windows of the castle. The architects were probably also involved in the refurnishing and refitting of the house, and the restoration of the keep. This work included the extensive laying of concrete floors on iron joists and alterations to houses in the estate village of Hornby itself.

## **160. CHURCH OF ST DAVID, AIRMYN, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Alterations 1884

Grid reference SE 725 252

Illustration No. cxxi

Extensive alterations to church of c1800 which involved the erection of a substantial chancel and organ chamber, the taking down of a gallery, removing all existing pews and designing new seating and a reading desk. The architects provided a very detailed specification split into sections for excavator, mason and bricklayer, carpenter and joiner, plumber and glazier, plasterer, slater and painter. The careful specification was reflected in the sensitive treatment of the church's fabric and consequently the east window was reused, and timber from the galleries used for the repair of the floor in the nave which was to be lowered.

## **161. PALACE OF DELIGHTS, SALTAIRE, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1886

Grid Reference SE 140 379

Illustration No.1

Extension to the schools built on a site behind the Saltaire Institute and opened with an exhibition of art treasures and 'scientific, educational, industrial and social appliances'. The buildings were arranged around a landscaped garden which had a maze, illuminated fountain and electric railway. The main building (which survives) is a mixture of Italianate and 'free-style' forms with a pedimented doorcase but transom and mullion windows. Other buildings were modelled on the 'inventions exhibition at South Kensington' and there were tents and other temporary structures. West Yorkshire Archive, Bradford, 29/d/87)



## **D. THE WORK OF MAWSON AND HUDSON**

### **162. REPORT ON BEST MODE OF BUILDING COTTAGES TO BRADFORD CITY COUNCIL**

Submitted 1890-3 and 1905 Unexecuted

Illustration No. cxxvi

A report submitted to the Council which would overcome the lack of through ventilation, privacy and poor sanitation prevalent in back-to-back houses without necessitating additional building land. The architect's favoured proposal involved dovetailing houses in rows of narrow cottages (known locally as 'through-by-lights'), and they submitted designs to the Corporation in July 1890. Bureaucratic inertia meant that the architects were forced to report again on 1 March 1893. Although given detailed consideration by the Council, the plans were not adopted. The proposals appear to have been resurrected as the 'Garden City Scheme' in 1905 with similar proposals for through houses with roughcast finished walls, no outbuildings and gardens front and rear. The rear lanes would be asphalted and narrow. The cheaper materials would considerably reduce building costs, but the plans were turned down by the Council because the roads were below by-law standards

### **163. TOWN HALL, BRADFORD ROAD, CLECKHEATON, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1890

Grid reference SE 192 254

Illustration No. cxxiv

'Free-style' composition with the principal rooms at *piano nobile* level with a large public hall, flanked by wings containing board and committee rooms and municipal offices. The main hall was entered through a grand entrance in the foot of a monumental tower, whilst the committee rooms and offices had separate side entrances. The detailing with its Flemish gables, oriel window based on Sparrowe's House at Ipswich, and solid tower topped by a turret of rather eastern appearance, was extremely fashionable in late-century Bradford. The attractive composition is harmonious but lively, and contrasts markedly with Lockwood and Mawson's earlier Gothic designs.

### **164. BAPTIST SUNDAY SCHOOL, TRAFALGAR STREET, HULL, EAST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1891

Grid reference TA 089 296

Illustration No. cxxvii

Sunday School for the town's Baptists on the corner of Trafalgar Street and Grosvenor Street. The building comprised a high school room with a timber barrel vaulted ceiling supported by restraining wires in the fashion of contemporary industrial buildings. Classrooms flanked the school room like the aisles of a church, whilst the southern end of the building was completed by a two-storey wing at right angles to the rest which housed further class and lecture rooms and teachers' rooms. The building was of red brick with a slate roof and some half-timbering to the gable ends. Segregated entrances with vestigial arched hoods and a large arched window above dominated the main facade.



## **165. WOOL EXCHANGE, MARKET STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Alterations 1895      Alterations demolished 1996

The alterations involved the replacement of the apse which helped light the exchange in Lockwood and Mawson's original designs with additional offices and shops. The infill was of little merit architecturally and was removed in the restoration and conversion of the building in 1996.

## **166. FIRE STATION, NELSON STREET, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Built 1898      Demolished      Illustration No. cxxv

Design chosen first from 44 entrants in competition which gained them the first premium of £100. Large fire station with engine house and attached stables, washhouse and hose tower with gymnasium at first floor facing Nelson Street. This was flanked by rows of firemen's houses which turned the corners into Caledonia Street and Duinen Street. The fourth side of the square which adjoined a dyeworks was used for workshops, laundry and stabling. The main engine house was a high two storeys in a 'free style' with a mixture of transom and mullion and Italianate arched windows at first floor. Beneath were blocky piers supporting a frieze with wide doors for the fire engines. The end and centre bays were taller with arched windows with large keystones and pilasters supporting a modillion cornice. The hose tower also had plain pilasters supporting a cornice with a gantry at high level. The cottages were plain, of two storeys and with mullion windows. West Yorkshire Archive, Bradford, Building Plan No. 17729.

## **167. COMPETITION ENTRY, CARTWRIGHT HALL, LISTER PARK, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Entry 1899      Unexecuted

Competition which attracted 115 competitors. Although unplaced, Mawson and Hudson's design did merit a write-up in *The Builder*. The commentator felt that the elevation was 'dignified and well-proportioned and with the plan goes to make a fine building'. It was however felt to be inconvenient for 'entertainments' and considered too costly to be built within the stipulated cost of £40,000. (*The Builder* 1899 p498).

## **168. COMPETITION ENTRY, RAWSON MARKET EXTENSIONS, BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE**

Entry 1899      Not executed

Design placed second behind that of T.C. Hope in the competition for the further extension of the Rawson Market. Mawson and Hudson claimed the second premium of £50 for their design.